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THE  
ANDOVER REVIEW

VOLUME VI.—PUBLISHED MONTHLY.—NUMBER XXXV.

NOVEMBER, 1886.

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A DECADE OF ETHICS.

PERHAPS no decade in history has been so fruitful of ethical studies as the last. The works of Herbert Spencer, Sidgwick, Green, Leslie Stephen, Martineau, and a host of other authors confirm this judgment. Within the last few months Mr. Courtney has presented a new work on the subject, with the promise of an elaborate treatise to come, if the fortunes of life and study admit of its fulfillment. Mr. Sorley and Dr. Porter appear in the same list, and F. H. Bradley's "Studies in Ethics" belongs to the literature in question. Janet, whose work on Morals appeared in 1873, and J. S. Mill are excluded only by the criterion of time.

But it is a very remarkable and significant fact that the impulse to ethical studies has been so universal and so powerful as to absorb an interest almost equal to that of the physical sciences. Perhaps fewer names adorn the galaxy of ethical speculation than can be found as great representatives of physical science; but a decade of the latter will hardly show as many great and important works as the department of morals can present. There has been book-making enough, and of such books as were an honor and a shining light in their day, but such works as we have enumerated will be landmarks in history, to which the student must resort for orientation in future ethical study. There have been periods when ethics were as much the chief object of interest as to-day, but the literary products of those periods were distributed over generations, and not over a decade. From Socrates to Epicurus, from Kant to Hegel, and from Butler to Bentham, we have illustration of this truth.

There are at least two special reasons for this enlarged interest in ethical questions during the last decade. They are the influence of the doctrine of evolution, and the progress of industrial

and commercial arts with their accompaniments. The influence of the latter in stimulating a reaction in scholars for ethical reflection has been both direct and indirect. Its direct influence comes from the necessity of regulating and controlling the forces which so peculiarly constitute modern life. There is no guarantee in purely economic principles that human nature will realize or respect the higher possibilities of existence; self-interest may be so absorbing as to supplant or stifle all other influences upon action. The larger scope of sacrifice and restraint for remoter prudential ends, or for the commands of duty, may easily be disregarded, and the temptation to this is almost overwhelming and irresistible. The multiplication of machinery and of economic arrangements for the accumulation and distribution of wealth, the attractions of science, art, and travel, the intoxicating enjoyments of luxury and amusement in the life of society, — all these exercise an influence that is likely to dwarf or stifle all others. Hence earnest minds are predisposed to such means as will counteract the disintegrating forces of life, and make their appeal to the tribunal of ethics, so that ethical reflection becomes a necessity whether that science is conditioned upon antecedent metaphysical theories or not.

The indirect influence of industrial progress upon ethics is due to its tendency to withdraw attention and allegiance from the cobweb theories of philosophy, and to concentrate them upon utilitarian pursuits. Ethics is of all the intellectual and reflective sciences the best fitted to conform to the demand of the practical. No man, however absorbed in the materialism of economic pursuits, can fail to perceive the practical nature of morals; and hence when he denounces the speculative sciences generally which he does not understand, he may be met by principles that come within the reach of his own experience. The importance of ethics he knows, and he is as ready as any to conserve the interests that none dispute, with whose integrity none would sincerely wish to see injured. Philosophy, therefore, may be rescued by an *ad hominem* appeal.

But the doctrine of evolution was perhaps greater still in its influence to revive ethical study, although it has been supplemented very largely by those just mentioned. It was the common conception of Greek philosophy, and no one seemed to think it incompatible with moral ideas. But Christian thought generally did not regard the matter so favorably. It cultivated an irreconcilable hostility to all naturalistic theories, and with its own tri-

umph fixed and confirmed the incompatibility between evolution and morals. Besides, association and habit, with the authority of philosophers, conditioned ethics upon metaphysics, and while the postulates of metaphysics were unshaken ethics were secure. Evolution was a system of philosophy, but it was only an unverified hypothesis, and the authority of theology was sufficient to suppress its claim to consideration and respect. But at last it came in the work of Darwin, playing havoc with all the philosophic theories of the time, supported as it was by the constant victories of science over older speculations. It required but a syllogism to involve ethics in the general ruin of scholastic beliefs. But that science had the claim to a certain priority of acceptance, both because of the subserviency rendered it by all other branches of knowledge, and because of its inherent value to the interests and life of man; it was a sufficient vindication of it that no proper society, and none of the admitted ends of theory and practice anywhere were possible without it. Although defeated in metaphysics, or with the prestige of success against him in a field strewn with the wrecks of former theories, an earnest man could not give up the struggle, and all the interests of society demanded that this important science remain intact from the dissolving influences around it. Both the advocates and the opponents of evolution realized this fact, and in some respects have made common cause to prevent such disastrous consequences as would have been the natural result of disturbing the established convictions of the past.

No doubt there were coöperating influences in the general dissatisfaction created by the one-sided utilitarianism of Bentham and his followers; but they were subordinate to the last, and perhaps exerted no more power than that theory usually does in stimulating ethical reflection. But without stopping to dwell further upon the causes of ethical investigation in the last decade, it is gratifying to observe the conciliating spirit shown by all writers, of whatever school, upon that subject, as compared with the more polemic writings of preceding periods; and this in a time when to be critical is everything. The paradox of the age is the union of candor and criticism, of conciliation and controversy. On the one hand philosophy elicits interest and attention in proportion to its fault-finding. The criterion of progress is rebellion against the past, and hence our reputation is made by knocking down some existing theory. We are skeptical of all opinions except our own, and we have few opinions of our own except our critical

assaults on others. We make our success not so much by assuming one side or the other in a conflict, as by our ability to cope single-handed with every individual in the controversy. To attach ourselves to any existing system imports a kind of weakness. Originality is everything, and yet we quarrel with it when it is given us. In short, we are nothing unless critical.

On the other hand the strange paradox appears, that even amid this universal skepticism and criticism there is a spirit of candor and justice that travesties the name of controversy. There is a disposition in antagonistic systems to compose their dispute very much after the manner of the ancient knights in their disagreement about the shield, namely, compromise by the admission of truth on both sides. This is evident on an examination of the two schools into which all moralists may be reduced. Bentham represents the zenith of utilitarianism. He is followed by the two Mills, Austin, Grote, Herbert Spencer, and Leslie Stephen. In all of these, except Austin and Grote, there is a constant gravitation toward the position occupied by the theory opposed to utilitarianism, until in Leslie Stephen, with his reduction of virtue to character, and its sanction to internal principles, and his uncompromising assertion that the provinces of virtue and prudence do not coincide, and by no shifting of logic can be made to coincide, we meet "the good-will" of Kant, and the irreconcilability of virtue and pleasure, so distinct in that author. Mr. J. S. Mill deviated so far from the position of Bentham in a distinction of kind in pleasures, and expressed such sympathy with Christian ethics, as to disarm much of the criticism of his utilitarianism, and in the following statement virtually admitted the entire claim of the opposite theory, showing how indelibly the position of Kant impressed itself upon the moral consciousness: "Ninety-nine hundredths of all our actions," says he, "are done from other motives, and rightly so done, *if the rule of duty does not condemn them.*" One of Mr. Spencer's chief maxims is that some truth will be found in every belief, and this principle enables him to compromise with intuitionism, and to approach that theory, in his recognition of altruism and the sense of obligation, with the more distinct assertion that evolution points rather to perfection than to pleasure as its aim and end. He says: "The doctrine that perfection or excellence of nature should be the object of pursuit is in one sense true; for it tacitly recognizes that ideal form of being which the highest life implies, and to which evolution tends. There is a truth, also, in the doctrine that virtue must be the aim; for this

is another form of the doctrine that the aim must be to fulfill the conditions to the achievement of the highest life."

A similar spirit has shown itself in Sidgwick, Green, and Martineau: Dr. Sidgwick is so thoroughly fair that he can scarcely be placed on one side or the other, but with no evident tendency to sacrifice the imperative sense of duty to the motive of pleasure. Dr. Green is Kantian and Hegelian, but handles the criterion and influence of pleasure with candor and honesty; he does not despise it as Kant had done. Mr. Martineau is, perhaps, more of a controversialist, and shows a moral earnestness and firmness that will compel respect from admirers and opponents alike; but being a non-conformist by profession and experience, and with intellectual sympathies tempered by the spirit of his age, his work presents every commendable feature of moderation, as is most distinctly shown in his correspondence with Mr. Spencer in the second edition. There is none of the captious quibbling for victory so characteristic of more ancient discussions. It is thus a welcome indication of progress that both schools sit at each other's feet for instruction, and promise more fruitful results to truth and virtue than the previous speculations of many centuries.

The two great ethical questions of the last decade have been hedonism and evolution; the question of conscience has either been subordinate, or the modified problem of moral faculties. It has kept up its interest, but it has been less than the interest in the question whether ethics must be hedonistic or not. Moralists do not quarrel so much as formerly about the existence of conscience; for it is rather a question as to the function ascribed to it, and thus the question is resolved into the one whether its judgments are regulated by the standard of pleasure or virtue. Hence the problem suggested by hedonism has the priority of interest and importance.

Hedonism endeavors to account for moral ideas and distinctions in some way or other by reference to the phenomena of pleasure and pain. The opposite theory, which we may call moralism, for the lack of a better term at present, maintains that moral distinctions cannot be reduced either to pleasure and pain, or to their criterial influence. It regards the idea of virtue as unique and independent, so that every attempt at resolving it into the prudential considerations of pleasure and pain would prove suicidal to what the human mind has generally understood by duty and obligation. The controversy, therefore, between the two theories seems a well-

defined one, and we wish to present the course which it has taken. As intimated, it has been a compromising one; on the one hand, moralism has succeeded in establishing the independence of moral conceptions, and in keeping duty and interest distinct from each other in our actual world; but on the other, utilitarianism has gained the admission that the phenomena of pleasure and pain cannot be ignored in the determining causes of action approvable by conscience; pleasure and pain have gained a legitimate place in deciding conduct that ought or ought not to be done. But the greatest changes have been in the general school of hedonism, — or utilitarianism, since we shall regard these terms as synonymous, for our present purposes. It has shown a steady advance toward the position all along supported by moralism.

The argument against hedonism may be presented in several ways. We may appeal to some innate powers qualified for determining moral distinctions independently of the influence of hedonistic motives; but such a method is only a reaffirmation of what the school of experience denies, and hence it is no proof. Or we may construct an argument from the phenomena of duty, obligation, conscientiousness, etc., in which we may postulate more than is admitted by the opposition, and hence beg the question again; for hedonism would account for those phenomena by referring them to the emotions of pleasure and pain. We must remove the possibility of any other supposition than the existence of moral conceptions different from the modification of pleasure. Or, again, we may reduce the position and statements of hedonism to a contradiction, in one of whose terms it spontaneously recognizes the simplicity and originality of the very factor it professes to account for. Thus we can design to show that its own distinctions between the kinds or degree of pleasure and pain form an admission or presume principles which it is its chief object to combat, which its favorite criteria do not include, and which even condition the very distinctions it feels obliged to recognize. This is a singular Nemesis to Benthamism.

Bentham, like Epicurus, had resolved all motives determining conduct into pleasure and pain, and hence made them the criteria of right and wrong. Pleasure, or the avoidance of pain, was the rational object of all action; virtue was the pursuit of pleasure. But he had to face the conviction that the pursuit of some pleasures was right, and the pursuit of others wrong. He endeavored to overcome this difficulty and still maintain the integrity of his criterion by affirming a qualitative identity and a quantita-



tive difference between pleasures, that is, a difference only of degree constituted the various distinctions of moral qualities. The higher or greater amount of pleasure determined the course which ought to be pursued, and the lower or lesser, the course to be avoided. This was a clear course, but it played havoc with convictions that had been consecrated by the reverence of a hundred generations. Hence, however well reasoned it might appear, it proved too hostile to the sense of *oughtness*, — a conception with which Bentham himself played fast and loose — to escape criticism. So there arose a conscious or unconscious tendency to feel that Bentham had purchased clearness at the expense of incontestable facts. The conviction that there existed something above and nobler than the mere motive of happiness proved too strong for so simple a solution. J. S. Mill endeavored to pacify this opposition by setting up a distinction in the kinds of pleasure determinative of action. Utilitarianism was reconstructed upon a basis of qualitative differences between pleasures and pains. Grote felt called upon to remonstrate against Mill, that such a position was fatal to the system it was designed to defend. But the general moral consciousness was too much disposed to admit the truth of Mill's modification of the doctrine to beat a retreat under the leadership of Grote. And hence the farther question was regarding the significance of qualitative differences in pleasures as distinct from quantitative differences. Spencer more openly attacks the system of Bentham as if he were a full-fledged disciple of Cudworth and Clarke, not as an advocate of their particular theory, but as resolutely determined to expose its weakness; and he does it by emphasizing, not only the method which Bentham thought fatal to theories of the "moral sense," namely, the general disagreement between moral ideas, but also the difference of quality as between pleasures. On the one hand, he points out that men are quite as much at variance about pleasure as any experientalist could affirm them to be regarding innate moral truths; and, on the other hand, he indicates that some moral ideas which Bentham regarded as less intelligible than happiness are really more so, and more easily calculated in their results. He tells us that analysis shows justice to be more intelligible as an end than happiness. "For justice, or equity, or equalness, is concerned exclusively with *quantity* under *stated conditions*; whereas happiness is concerned with both *quantity* and *quality* under *conditions not stated*;" and so on, at considerable length, in Chapter IX. of his "Data of Ethics." Leslie Stephen, later

than Spencer, is still more definite in his refusal to admit a comparison between pleasures on the basis of a mere difference in degree. What may be a pleasure to one, he thinks, may be a pain to another; pleasure varies with the constitution of the subject. "Only an infant compares his love for his cousin with his love for jam tart." Comparison and preference do not imply likeness of kind in the ends or objects chosen. However, to the present moral consciousness the difference of quality in pleasures needs no proof either by argument or by the admissions of those from whom it is unexpected. It is commonly admitted on all hands, and the question now is what it means. Must pleasure have the first place in the determination of conduct, or is there sufficient evidence of some principle superior to such an end?

The motive of pleasure has always shown itself one of the most acceptable and most intelligible appeals of common sense to determine the grounds of virtue or the ends of conduct. Other asserted criteria have generally assumed a transcendental aspect that was offensive to clearness and seemed at variance with experience. As a fact, men often enough act from that motive in one form or another, and it gives shape to their understanding when called to consider the principles of conduct. They demand that moral principles square with fact, and hence the predication of anything beyond experience seems imaginary and unreal. If what *ought* to be depends solely upon what *is*, hedonism has very strong presumptions in its favor, merely from the predominance of interested motives in experience. What we do, we do for some end, and every end is the expression of a desire. We can hardly desire anything that is disagreeable, and hence pleasure and pain easily become generalized into the most comprehensive of the springs of action. They can hardly fail to acquire such a supremacy, both practically and theoretically, when they express every possible state of consciousness that is agreeable or disagreeable, joined with the incontestable fact that human nature is so generally affected by their influence, consciously or unconsciously, as to render any other motives anomalous and questionable. Experience extends the conceptions of pleasure and pain without reference to differential qualities represented in their real content, until their very pliability increases the territory of their criterial influence in proportion to their comprehensive power over mental states determinative of action. It is so easy to note the extent of their *actual* influence upon conduct in given cases, and then generalize them to assert their *theoretical* place in the scale of motives,



and thus suppose that action *must* be governed by them alone, although its external features may present no proof of their operation. The most natural course of thought is to proceed from the frequent to the universal, from the *actual* to the *necessary* motivation of pleasures, and while it generalizes that conception by abstracting every quality that concerns the problem of ethics, and ignores the chasm, impassable to experience, between the *real* and the *ideal*, it may commit two mistakes. First, it may endeavor to explain conduct by the most generic motive accessible to experience, and without reference to the differential qualities comprehended in so generalized a term as pleasure or pain. Second, it may mistake the affirmation of what *is* for what *ought* to be, and thus snub the claims of virtue by the insinuation that they do not coincide with fact. Both of these are very significant for the modifications which hedonistic theories have undergone at the hands of their advocates.

To consider the first of these, if the human mind recognized no distinction between the different pleasures, or no exception to the legitimacy of their motive functions, it would be much more difficult, if not impossible, to produce a complete refutation of hedonism. For, by supposition, motives of pleasure would be coextensive with all forms of legitimate moral conduct, and there would be nothing to disprove their causal influence upon it (even if there were no evidence for it), while their common coincidence with what is recognized as moral conduct would afford all the probabilities of a causal influence that are logically suggested by uniform concomitancy. But, unfortunately for that theory, hedonism cannot depend upon the unexceptional nature of pleasure; it is obliged to distinguish between pleasures that are legitimate and those that are not legitimate motives to conduct; and here it meets difficulties that are insoluble on its own principles.

When pleasure and pain were limited in their comprehension to the phenomena of physical sensation, it might have been easy enough to combat their adequacy, as criteria, to determine ideas like "right" and "wrong." But the common relation sustained to the will by sensuous pleasure and pain along with other states of consciousness, agreeable or disagreeable, soon generalized these conceptions so as to make them coextensive with every form of emotion operative as motives to action, or to comprehend states of consciousness with no common quality *but their relation to the will*. Pleasure was so generally the determinant of action, or so generally the coincident and concomitant of states preceding and

influencing choice, that the most intelligible course was to make it coextensive with the objects of desire, until pleasure has come to comprehend every motive state of consciousness that is approvable or agreeable. But we constantly forget that the bond of classification and comprehension is a mere relation to the will, and that this mere relation to the will may be common to several distinctions of kind which may not be necessarily implied by the generic conception including them. Pleasure and pain have a common quality by which they may be included under the single term "emotion;" but they are themselves distinct in kind, — so distinct as to be opposites and contradictory, and yet the generic conception that classifies them does not express these differential qualities, and hence can never be used as a criterion for phenomena that require or assume that distinction.

By supposition pleasure, as a criterion of virtue, comprehends various pleasures, such as of touch, sight, hearing, taste, and the various intellectual emotions in connection with the true, the beautiful, and the good; but, unfortunately for hedonism and for their criterial influence, some of them are condemned as pleasures which it is wrong to pursue. Thus some pleasures differ from others. Now they must differ from each other by quantity or quality, or they would all stand upon the same level before the moral judgment. If they differ only in quantity or degree, that difference cannot constitute the difference between right and wrong, because the latter are opposites, and differ in kind. But it is absurd to suppose a likeness of kind and only a difference in quantity between the pleasures of benevolence and the pleasures of drink, or between the pleasures of knowledge and the pleasures of a bath, even if they do possess a common relation to the will. Hence there must be a difference of quality between them to account for the difference between right and wrong which they give rise to. We have already seen that our chief moralists in the utilitarian school admit this difference of kind between pleasures; and, therefore, we have a generic and specific use of that conception. Hence the individual pleasures are *differentiæ* of pleasure as a *genus*, and, being *differentiæ*, are such by virtue of a quality not found in the genus; otherwise they would be identical with it, and in no way *differentiæ*. That quality must be *extra-hedonistic* in order to constitute a distinction at all, and it is just such a difference, and not the generic element of pleasure, which makes the difference between their moral worth, or between the right and the wrong pleasures. Hence, when a choice is made between

pleasures, it is upon the difference between them, else one could as well be chosen as the other. When that difference is one of kind, it is a non-generic quality, and excludes the generic element from the influence of a criterion.

The same principle can be shown, can be illustrated, by an analogous case, namely, by the conception of "emotion," which we may regard as the genus of pleasure and pain, according to psychological and ethical writers generally. We shall see that the reasons for and against the use of emotion as a criterion of moral distinctions are the same as for pleasure. All agree that pleasure and pain are contradictory and opposite states of mind, whether by virtue of a difference in quantity or quality, and also that they are forms of emotion, and as such species or differentiae of that genus. Now suppose for the moment that there are no differences of kind in pleasures, and none in pains, and hence that they may be assumed respectively as criteria, one of right and the other of wrong. Emotion, by supposition, also comprehends both of them, as their genus, and as such is constituted by the common quality of pleasure and pain, which are, nevertheless, opposites, possessing qualities which make them absolutely distinct from each other. Could we, therefore, ever speak of "emotion" as the criterion of virtue, while it included in its comprehension the criterion of vice? As a generic conception, any individual comprehended in it could be chosen in illustration of a principle enunciated in terms of the genus, and in that case we should be logically qualified to choose pain as well as pleasure as the criterion of virtue. For, by hypothesis, "emotion" also comprehends that state of consciousness which conditions the idea of wrong, and hence, because it denotes pains as well as pleasures, we could either affirm that "emotion" is the criterion of wrong, which contradicts its criterial function for right, or renders its power to distinguish between right and wrong nugatory; or the universal statement that "emotion" is the determinant of right would imply that pains as well as pleasures determine right, which is contrary to our supposition. If there were no distinctions of kind between the two classes of phenomena comprehended under the conception of "emotion" as a genus, and these phenomena were the accepted criteria, or criterion, of the motives in question, the proposition would unquestionably be true. But inasmuch as it comprehends phenomena, or differentiae, that are contradictorily related, such as pleasure and pain, we cannot use the conception of "emotion" without qualification and exception to express the criterion of

right; for by supposition it includes also the opposite criteria. So it will be with the conception of pleasure when we suppose or recognize, with Mill and Spencer, a distinction of kind between those phenomena which it comprehends and denotes. Pleasure and pain individually contained differential elements not specified in their genus "emotion," and hence the very extension of the generic conception excludes it from any criterial power, where the distinction of the differentia is involved; and so the differentia of pleasure, as the genus contains all sorts of pleasure, will indicate qualities not found in the generic conception including them. Hence, as a general conclusion, no *differentia* can be admitted or established, except by principles *extra* to the *genus*.

If no differences of opinion existed regarding the merits and demerits of different pleasures, the argument would not admit of application; but if once the admission is made that pleasures differ in quality, we must seek outside that generalized term for a principle to account for the differences in question. This principle does not set pleasure aside as a motive to action within the sphere of liberty where actions are supposed to have neither merit nor demerit; but it is the complement of hedonistic motives, and determines those qualitative characteristics which constitute their relative superiority and inferiority of rank and decides their moral worth. Martineau has presented our argument in all its force, and we give it in his language as indicating an advance in ethical theory from which retrogression is hardly possible.

"If there are *sorts* of pleasure," says he, "they must be something more than pleasure; each must have its *differentia* added on to what suffices for the genus; and this addition cannot be *pleasurable quality*, else it would not detach from the genus: to mark a species at all, it must be an *extra-hedonistic quality*. And each sort must have its own; and so far as one is preferable, as a kind, to another, it is so in virtue of what it has *other than pleasure*; and the comparison of them all *inter se*, considered as different kinds, must turn upon their several extra-hedonistic qualities. All that they have from the genus is *quantitative*; and till you get beyond the pleasurable as such, quality does not exist." And again, when discussing this new element of quality introduced by J. S. Mill, Martineau shows both its incommensurability and the ethical principles which it makes possible and reasonable. He says:—

"This incommensurability of Mill's new element with the old follows irresistibly from the language of his exposition. If there

are several species of the genus 'Pleasure,' each of them is distinguished from all the rest by some quality *of its own*, and from the genus by *the addition of this quality* to the bare pleasurable-ness. The differentia, therefore, which constitutes the kind is *not pleasurable-ness*, but something else, over and above the hedonistic base. And as each kind has for its differentia a property which is repeated in no other, 'quality' changes from kind to kind and is no common element pervading all and expressible throughout in terms of the same predicable. But when we speak of one thing as more *this* or less *that* than another, we talk nonsense unless 'this' or 'that' belong to both as an attribute susceptible of degrees. In order, therefore, that Mill's 'kinds' should be some higher, some lower, their differentia must all be comprised in some common predicate, which cannot fail to be producible in the *positive* degree: something not only over and above the generic essence of pleasurable-ness, but also beyond the specific differences, and carrying up their heterogeneous characteristics to an including quantitative attribute which marshals them on a graduated scale. If, as we are assured, their relative eligibility largely depends on their rank in that scale, and will be misjudged by the hedonist test without it, we may fairly ask, What is the attribute, for the comparative and superlative of which we are to be on the watch? It is mere parrot-talk to repeat that it is 'pleasure.' You have already told us that that alone will not do; that these might be the more or less pleasurable, without its settling the more or less eligible; and we now want to know the *supplementary determinant*, whose degrees traverse and correct the other scale. If knowledge-seeking is 'higher' than gastronomy, and vindictiveness 'lower' than compassion, these comparative adjectives are here figuratively used, and not literally to the *vertical line*, as if one of the springs to action were to be looked for overhead and the other underground. Remove the figure, then, and name the real continuum, to the extremities of which this language represents the relative approach."

This is the last stage of the discussion on one of the most important and most warmly contested questions of ethics. Its results are a decided gain for the theory of independent moral ideas. That theory has slowly gained the assent of men, because by its very nature it was not capable of the proof usually demanded of it, namely, that the infallibility of its pretensions should square with facts, and because the influence of hedonistic motives was so great actually that any theoretical supposition of contrary or different

motives was most likely to seem visionary. But without proving anything *positive* for the theory of moralism, the course of argument we have followed absolutely demonstrates the insufficiency of hedonism based upon differences of quality in pleasures, and upon the admission that some pleasures are not morally legitimate. It proceeds upon incontestable logical principles, and the laws of logic have to be assumed by both sides or the whole problem given up as insoluble upon any terms. Hedonism can no more do without logic than moralism. The value of this argument is not that it demonstrates any particular phase of moralism, for it does no such thing; but that it disproves hedonism as the single and simple solution of moral problems. Hedonism had assumed that pleasure and its relations were admitted and well understood, and that they needed no analysis or qualification to explain the phenomena of conduct. But however plausible and natural it seems in presenting an explanation of facts, a little examination shows that it is as inapplicable to experience as the theory of innate ideas; that is, it cannot be turned around and used as a rule or maxim for conduct, any more than we could pick up any existing conviction in illustration of immutable moral distinctions, so that what seemed a fatal weakness in one theory turns out to be so in the other, namely, the impossibility of verifying it by applying it to any of the supposed or admitted cases of pleasure or virtue. The very fact that we have to take exception to certain kinds and degrees of pleasure in estimating the character of conduct aimed at those ends proves a residuum not accounted for by a purely hedonistic criterion; and whether we have advanced far enough to name that residuum or not is of no great importance. It is sufficient to know the necessity of transcending qualities that have never received the spontaneous tribute of virtue, however valuable they may be in the economy of instinct.

The doctrine of evolution has contributed very largely to the same result, by its theory of the "relativity of pleasure and pain." Hedonism has wished to regard pleasure as an absolute end beyond which the inquiry could not be carried. But the theory of evolution requires perfection and excellence, or the development of powers, as the end to be realized by the process of growth and selection, and pleasure and pain can serve this end only as a means; they are therefore relative to an end which cannot be expressed in those terms, and losing this distinct object as ends in nature they cannot be legitimately set up as such in morals. This marks another surrender — and it is especially observed in



Spencer and Leslie Stephen — to extra-hedonistic ethics, in that almost the very language of Kant and the scholastics is employed to denominate objects of action, — and excludes the functions of pleasure and pain from the moral consideration of ends, although nothing may be detracted from their function to serve as finger-posts to other ends. Still, they occupy a subordinate position in present discussions, while they were formerly supreme. Thus the whole problem is altered, and on the terms of its own making the empirical moralists are forced to consider values, both in the differential qualities of pleasure and in the ends of development, which cannot be expressed in terms of hedonism. How we shall answer the questions proposed by this result must be the work of subsequent ethical investigation; and it will not be a simple process. Nevertheless the lines are laid down, and have been familiar since Kant. It is expressed in various terms, although containing in all cases some or all of the same fundamental principles. In Dr. Green it is "the sense of duty," which, as he affirms, "the theory of Hedonism fails to interpret," and which is the equivalent in English of Kant's categorical imperative. Spencer gives a higher place to the sense of oughtness or obligation than Bentham, who wished the word "ought" to be expunged from the vocabulary of ethics; and besides, Spencer has transfigured altruism to a large extent, after having said more than many less bold men would have said in favor of the real good in egoism. But moralistic sympathies are much more pronounced in Leslie Stephen, who is a utilitarian by profession.

"The moral law," he says, "has to be expressed in the form, 'be this,' not in the form, 'do this;'" and again: "A true moral law can only exist when it includes a definition of character." "Conduct which does not spring from motives or character is not, properly speaking, conduct at all." "The question whether actions are or are not virtuous is only intelligible as a question as to the motives from which they spring:" all of which is little less or different from Kant's "good-will:" and over and over again he affirms that the sanction of morality is internal and is not from the nature of the act or of consequences. He says: "The path of duty does not coincide with the path of happiness," and this is to grant the whole position of that theory which has shown such persistent opposition to utilitarianism. Thus the course of ethics toward the views of moralism is evident, and it is a very welcome fact that the tendency is one to recognize the first condition of virtue to be in will of the agent. The only sufficient

guarantee that external conduct will be right is found in the "good-will," and any other criterion than conscientiousness, as it may be variously denominated by "duty," "obligation," "categorical imperative," etc., will be exposed to criticism for its probable or possible association with merely personal interests. The chief merit of moralism is that it subordinates in its very conception all personal interests of the agent to the larger welfare of the whole, and hence requires that sacrifice which neither history nor psychological speculation has willingly associated with pleasure, connected as it is with the interest of the subject. The tendency of all higher ethical conceptions has been, therefore, to abandon such criteria as were more suggestive of individual interests and to adopt such as could exercise the proper restraint upon impulses so strong. It is a social and altruistic tendency, and not only has it been influenced and promoted by the complex and mutually related institutions of modern life which make so plain the dependence of one unit in society upon another, but also by the logical necessities of the ethical problem in all conditions of society which constantly impress the subordination of personal to general considerations; and the sense of duty far more than the conception of pleasure is calculated to enforce and develop the consciousness of that subordination.

All the concessions, however, have not been made by hedonism: the opposing theory has made two important changes. It has abandoned the old doctrine of innate ideas as held by many of its advocates, which had been little more than an appeal to shut off all inquiry and discussion. Human nature could not go behind its instincts. What was innate was an instinct, and hence when any question was raised about the origin and nature of some important moral conviction which would have its validity and authority by reducing it to experience, expediency, or conventional usage, moralists had recourse to a theory of innate ideas as the only alternative to custom for saving the value of ideas that could not be sacrificed to the curiosity of revolutionary spirits. It was supposed to confer the firmness of immutability upon any distinctions it would cover. But the impossibility of verifying it in experience, and the changes reported by history in convictions supposed by the theory to be innate and eternal, wrecked the doctrine in any conceivable form it assumed to protect existing codes of ethics and customs. Although innate principles and instincts are not thus necessarily abandoned, the problem was rendered infinitely more complex and abstruse by the inability to demonstrate them



in the general convictions of common life: it would assume only a transcendental form in which it was impossible to escape the necessity of postulating something *a priori*, and yet just as impossible to find it pure and simple in experience. The definiteness and clearness of the old theory was lost.

The second concession made to hedonism has been the admission of legitimate functions for pleasure and pain in ethical problems. The farther analysis of the question made this evident. Pleasure and pain were inevitable facts in human experience, and could be no more removed than thought. Even if they could not be regarded as moral, they could as little be regarded as immoral so far as they were the necessary result of action. But in giving them up as the proper ends of existence it was not necessary to deny them proper functions in relation to conduct. It could be demonstrated as a fact that pleasure and pain in general, in spite of occasional exceptions, were indispensable to ends which were either moral, or were the first condition of moral action. Spencer, we think, has proved that "pleasure increases vitality, and pain decreases it." This, of course, must be taken as a general principle and not without real or apparent exceptions. But a little examination of facts will show conclusively the very large part which those mental states play in the economy of health, physical and intellectual, and of self-preservation. They operate as conditions to it, the one positively aiding it and indicating the actions in harmony with the constitution, and the other impairing it, and warning the agent to resist influences tending to injury. Self-preservation and health are regarded as moral ends, and if pleasurable states of consciousness are necessary to the full and proper development of human nature, we do not see how they can be ignored in the determination of conduct. They do exercise a criterial power of some kind, or at least determine such normal ends of existence as to harmonize with the very object supported by the moral judgment. Indeed, it is possible that the value and importance of some acts would not have been known but for the pain or pleasure that accompanied them as their effects. Hence it would seem after all that pleasure would resume under another relation the power it seems to have lost by the argument of Martineau against it; and we have only to observe the revivifying influence of pleasure and the weakening influence of pain in the thousands of illustrations in actual life, in what we eat, in what we see, or hear, or touch, in cheerfulness and melancholy, in the various emotions, agreeable and disagree-

able, to see that pleasure and pain determine for us those actions which should and should not be done. We perhaps could not live a day without them as criteria of actions necessary to approved ends. Hence have we no alternative but to adopt hedonism again, or to suppose that the problem is in hopeless confusion and contradiction?

The answer to this is plain, and it avoids setting up pleasure as the object of conduct, while it still retains its function in determining conduct. We have to distinguish between the way we come to *know* what conduct is right, or the right means to an end, and our *reason* for doing it, or the value of the end in view which is made the object of an unconditional sense of duty. Pleasure and pain may be necessary to our knowledge of the right means to an end that is desirable or approvable, but they are not that end itself, as the doctrine of evolution shows in making them only relative to other ends which they serve, and which are more important than they for that very reason. They cannot be the ultimate motives to conduct, according to evolution, without losing sight of their sole functions of indicating the importance of some other object. They can be only the *ratio cognoscendi*, not the *ratio agendi*, of moral action. They may be criteria of what is objectively right action, but criteria are relative to something else, and are not the ends for which they serve as indices. Those ends have their value independently of the criteria. A buoy or a fog-horn may lead us into the harbor, but they are not the haven to which we are voyaging. Pleasure may be an index to tell us which way we are to go, or what we shall do, but it is not the goal of our journey. It may help us to know the action that is right, or the means to ends which are the object of the sense of duty, but it does not constitute that sense. "We shall never succeed," says Lotze, "in introducing into the mind, as a *tabula rasa*, the consciousness of duty by means of impressions from experience." Virtue consists in conscientiousness, or the consciousness of ends conscientiously pursued. This is concisely the position of Kant, and speculation since his time has only been making it clearer than he left it, and this conception marks the results accomplished by the last decade more than any other, so that hedonism must still surrender to the theory of independent virtue.

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## THE LABOR QUESTION.

How shall the largest possible product of what ministers to the necessities, the comforts, the conveniences, and the pleasures of man be produced? How shall that product be divided? The labor question involves these two questions, and the answer to these settles the labor question. The larger part of what is produced annually is annually consumed. The amount of existing capital, in whatever form it may be, is what has been saved from past production. If production did not go on, the amount of existing capital available for human wants would be exhausted in a short time, not exceeding three years, and probably not so long. We must either produce or go naked and starve. A certain amount of product suffices for the bare necessities of life; an increased product gives, in addition to what is required for necessities, that which affords comforts; a still larger furnishes conveniences; and then another addition, and the pleasures may be provided for. It is only by production that human wants can be supplied at all, and the larger the product, the more fully and completely can those wants be met. Anything that is to improve the state of humanity, as a whole, in its material conditions, must be something that will increase production. For we cannot have more than the whole.

Production requires two kinds of force, mental and physical. The exertion of mere physical force, without proper direction, — in other words, without the addition of mental force, — would produce little. In most things, the quantity of the product depends on the amount of mental force employed in the work. Two men engage in the same sort of labor and work equally hard, and the product of the labor of one of them is larger, perhaps many times larger, than that of the other. Why this difference? Because the one has more skill, better judgment. His mental force is greater than that of the other. This mental force may be his own, it may be in whole or in part that of another. One man to-day with a mowing-machine can cut as much grass in a given time as several could before the invention of that implement. The man now has the benefit of the mental force employed in inventing the machine, and which was exerted years ago. The amount of the product at the present time is, relatively to the amount of physical force exerted, immensely greater than it was fifty years ago, and this is in consequence of the mental force that

has been exerted during those years in producing improved mechanism and improved processes.

The largest possible product is obtained when the largest amount of the two forces is brought into action. Reduce either and there will be a falling off; increase either and there will be a gain, and the largest product comes when the largest amount of each is expended. This is all very simple, and it sums up the whole matter. But how shall the requisite action be brought about? As a rule, men will not work either mentally or physically without a motive of some sort, and to induce men to work hard, to put forth their whole strength, requires a strong motive. The only motive that induces the great mass of men to work is the supply of their lowest wants.

So great is the indisposition to labor that numbers of men resort to all sorts of devices, suffer from actual want, rather than submit to it. Hence the tramps, beggars, and so on. It is a fact that the majority are content to live on very little rather than work very hard. Another fact is that the majority have little mental force. All, or nearly all, they have to contribute to production is physical force; somebody else must furnish the brain to direct. It is not to the purpose to consider why this is so. I am simply stating the actual conditions with which we have to deal. Necessity compels the man of limited mental capacity to labor with his hands; that is his motive. Then the men who have mental power must have motive to induce them to exert that power in the direction of increasing the product, or they will use it in some other way, or let it remain idle. There are a variety of motives that operate on this class. We may take this for granted, however: that men who have the larger brain power will not put it forth in action unless they are to receive a return for their labor; and it is difficult to perceive why they should.

The amount of the product will depend, to a large extent, on the way it is to be divided. It seems to have been assumed in the discussions on this subject that the amount of product is a fixed and definite quantity, and that the question is how that quantity should be divided. No matter how the division is made, the sum total is the same, and the only matter for consideration is the respective claims of the different classes of consumers. If this were so, it would simplify matters. But it is not so. The quantity is as large as it is, and the amount is constantly increasing, because some, and they are few, get a larger share than the others, the many. The few, by virtue of their superior

judgment, skill, and sagacity, superior mental power, whether in the invention of machines, the discovery of improved processes, the conduct of business, the planning of enterprises, and so in countless ways, do increase the product, and that to an untold degree, over what it would be if there was only the judgment, skill, and sagacity of the many.

To recur to the question, How shall the product be divided? It is not quite clear what the so-called labor-reformers claim in this regard. Probably they have not settled the matter distinctly in their own minds. There is certainly a very general complaint just now that labor does not get its share, that capital gets more than its share, and that things ought not to go on as they have gone. And this is not strange. It is no wonder that men who toil all day for little more than a bare subsistence should look on those who, with less of the labor that can be seen, have an abundance, nay, a superfluity, as having more than their share, and should complain that this inequality is an injustice. But complaints are not always well founded. Men as well as children often desire what they cannot and ought not to have. And complaining settles nothing. The existing mode of division is the work of certain natural laws which will be stated hereafter.

If we attempt to change this, and establish any new rule, a new formula of division, we shall find ourselves beset with difficulties. Take this case: Two men, A and B, each having an equal amount of capital, say one hundred thousand dollars, engage in a manufacturing business, and each employs the same number of laborers. Now what proportion of the product shall the laborers receive? Manifestly, before either capital or labor receives anything the raw material must be paid for, and the various incidental expenses of the business; no question about this. But labor heretofore has not received its just share, and the laborers insist upon a reform in this respect, and that they shall have a larger share of the net product. Another way of stating it is: What proportion of the profits shall the laborers receive? It seems to many well-meaning people as though there was some rule on this subject which would be just and equitable to both parties, and which would do away with the present injustice. Very well; let the reformer pronounce what share of the product or profits of the business these two sets of laborers shall receive. Manifestly, it must be the same to each set; the number is the same, and they work the same number of hours. Equality requires this. Suppose it be determined that the laborers receive ninety-five per cent. and the capital five per

cent., and they commence work on this basis. Now for the results, and we have only to look for examples constantly occurring. A's business results in a loss, B's business in a profit; consequently A's laborers get nothing, B's laborers get something. Worse than this, A's laborers not only get nothing, but are in debt for their share of the loss. It is assumed by those who complain that the laborer is oppressed under the present system, that capital always gets a return in the way of profit; while the fact is that capital not only does not always gain, but is often lost in whole or in part. There are risks in every kind of business, and the capital employed, as matters now stand, takes those risks in the first instance. The laborer is paid as long as there is any capital left to pay with. Under all insolvent systems, when there is not enough to pay all debts, claims for labor have a preference, so that the risk of loss is not only imposed on the capital directly invested in the business, but on that indirectly invested.

But there are more important elements to be considered than what are usually called the risks; these are the judgment, skill, and sagacity, — in other words, the mental force with which the business is conducted. These elements enter into every stage of the process, from the building of the mill (if a manufacturing business), the selection of the machinery, the purchase of the raw material, the manufacture of that material, and the marketing the product. A mistake in any of these may be fatal, and loss the consequence. The success of every particular business depends on the judgment, skill, and sagacity with which it is conducted, and it follows that the success of different businesses constantly varies, because the respective persons who manage or conduct the same vary in their capacities. The capital may be owned by one man, and the business managed by him. It may be owned by one man or several, and the business managed by one or more agents. The capital may be loaned by one man, or several men, to one or more, and the business managed accordingly. However this may be, there are three factors, — capital, management, labor; or capital, mental force, and physical force. Again, the product is not the same in every year; it is by no means a constant quantity, but ever varying, in no two years the same. A man has capital, and employs the same in business; he may go on for several years, losing money every year, but he perseveres, and finally the tide turns, and he recovers in whole or in part his losses, or he loses all his capital, his credit is exhausted, and then — bankruptcy. These cases are constantly occurring, so constantly that they may



be almost said to be the rule rather than the exception. But the laborers all the while receive a part of the product, are paid their wages, and are enabled to live with comfort. True, they do not live in affluence. That is impossible, for there is not enough to enable all to live in affluence. Take the entire present annual product and let it be divided per capita, and each individual would receive but a trifle more than the day-laborer receives at present. Divide all the personal property now existing in the United States equally among all the people of the country, and it would not give more than five hundred dollars to each individual. Divide the entire annual product or income among all the people of this country, and it would not give more than two hundred dollars to each.

But in the conditions now existing in this country, the sober and industrious man who labors with his hands, the wage-earner, is, as a rule, able to procure a comfortable livelihood for himself and family, and in addition, if prudent, to lay up something for sickness and age. There are, of course, exceptions; but it is the rule, and not the exception, that is to be considered in propositions that affect the whole mass.

Why is it that some, and a few, get a larger share of the product than the great majority? It is because they possess superior judgment, skill, and sagacity; because they have greater mental force. I have three cords of wood to be sawed; one man saws two cords, another man one cord. Shall I not pay him who saws two cords twice as much as I pay him who saws one cord? Everybody will say yes. But suppose, by some ingenious device of his, he saws the two cords in half the time the other saws the one cord, is he not entitled to the double pay all the same? Two men engage in fishing in the same boat; they have the same tackle and the same bait. One, by his superior skill, catches twice as many fish as the other; is not each entitled to the fish he has caught? The one goes home with fish enough to supply his own family with food, and has a surplus to sell and procure other articles of necessity or comfort, and the other has barely enough for food for his own family and no surplus. And so in every department and kind of human activity. A few have the capacity to obtain more of the product, and they use that capacity and realize its fruits. The inequality in distribution results from the inequality in the individuals. The strongest mentally or physically always get the largest share, and where the mental and physical are united there will be the largest share of all. But the reformer says this

is precisely the evil of which we complain. It is not right that one should receive more than another. The man who toils all day and goes home at night wearied should receive as much as he who directs, and who does not bear the heat and burden of the day. He whose hands are hard should receive as much as he whose hands are soft. It is contrary to natural justice and equity that a small part of the community should live in luxury while the mass have barely what suffices for the necessities of life, and that obtained by grinding toil. The answer is twofold. But it must be restated that it is only the actual product that is or can be divided. That product arises from two kinds of labor, mental and physical; because capital is simply the unconsumed product of past labor. The man who has mental capacity actually does more towards making up the total of the product than he who has only physical force, who can only labor with his hands. All will agree that of two men working with their hands, if one is stronger, works harder and more hours, and consequently gets more for his labor than the other, he is entitled to what he gets; and if thereby his family has more comforts, there is no injustice or wrong.

For the same reason, if a man by reason of superior mental capacity is able to produce more than another, he is entitled to that larger quantity. He does more work and simply receives the product of that extra work. It is work that may not be visible to the eye, but it is none the less work, and it is the kind of work that tells, that increases the sum total of the entire product. The steam that gives motion to the engine is not visible to the eye. But what would avail the steel, the iron, the brass which present so imposing an appearance in the huge machine, and whose movements so impress the mind of the spectator, were it not for that invisible power which gives force to what would otherwise be an inert mass, utterly valueless so far as accomplishment is concerned?

So it is with capital. Capital of itself can do nothing. It is only as it is made use of, as it is directed by force, that any farther product can be obtained through its instrumentality. And here a word as to capital and the capitalist. Two men at twenty-one commence work, with nothing but their hands and their brains. They work a year in the same shop and for the same wages; the one spends all he earns, the other saves something. At the beginning of the second year, one has some capital, the other none. The first year both were simply wage-earners. The



second year one continues simply a wage-earner, the other is a capitalist, — no matter how small, still a capitalist. He keeps on saving, the other continues spending all. Presently the one who saves, if he has the requisite mental ability, becomes an employer. He avails himself of his past savings and of the labor of those who do not save, and who, from whatever cause, continue all their lives wage-earners and nothing more, and finally by his judgment, energy, and skill, saving every year more of the product that he acquires than he consumes, he becomes rich, — a large capitalist, — and secures for himself and family all that is requisite for the necessities, comforts, conveniences, and pleasures of life.

This is simply the effect of cause. There is no wrong or injustice. Each gets the product of his labor. One gets more than the other because he does more work. He works with his hands and his brains, the other only with his hands.

But again, the total product is increased by the mental labor or force of those who have the higher degree of capacity. Were it not for that, we should still be living in caves and clothed with skins. It is the labor of the few that has raised man from barbarism to civilization. Suppose two men cast upon an uninhabited island, destitute of any means of subsistence but their hands and what they may procure from the natural resources of the place. Beginning in this way, they are able at first to obtain only the bare necessities of life. One has an inventive brain: he devises implements with which to increase the product of their labor. By the aid of these they obtain comforts and conveniences. The product is increased. The man of mind will obtain the largest share, and is he not entitled to it? Has he not earned it? But the man who labors only with his hands will also be benefited. He will obtain more than he would have done had both continued to labor only with their hands and such rude appliances as they could find; so that his condition would be improved by the work of the other. So far, then, from finding fault or complaining of the other's greater prosperity, he should be grateful for it, as he is himself so much better off than he otherwise would have been. This is precisely what has happened in this country. The increase of production during the last half century has been enormous, and the consequent increase of the means of comfort. Why this increase? If the mechanism and processes had remained the same, if no enterprises — the devices of large and active brains — had been entered upon, there would have been no such increase. The increase has been due to the judgment, skill,

and sagacity of the few, — and the few have obtained the larger share of the total which is the fruit of their labor. But all this while, the mass, the wage-earners, have been getting more and more. They receive greater wages, and the purchasing power of those wages is greater than fifty years ago. The condition of the laboring class has improved relatively as much as the condition of what is called the capitalist class. This, of course, is a question of fact, not of opinion. But it is incontestable that such is the fact.

No doubt those who employ labor will seek to obtain that labor as cheaply as possible. Such is human nature, that the strong are inclined to take advantage of the weak. But somehow it is, that when the condition of one class of the community is improved, the condition of every class is also improved, the vicious and criminal only excepted.

I have said that the largest possible product will be obtained when the largest amount of force, mental and physical, is exerted, — when men work hard with their brains and their hands; that men will not work without a motive, and that the motive has been the obtaining the fruits of their labor. The men of judgment, skill, and sagacity have put forth all their energies, because they expected to profit by so doing. When successful they have profited, and all about them have profited. Take away this inducement, and the action ceases, and the product will be diminished. Still they will get the largest share by virtue of their mental superiority, and those who will suffer most by the reduction will be those who now complain. Such is the law, and from its operation there is no escape.

It is perfectly right for the wage-earner to get all he can. The employer will pay as little as he can. As there always has been, so there will always be more or less difficulty in settling the rate of wages in the different industries. It is the duty of the employer to sedulously regard the interests of those he employs, to deal fairly by them. Above all, every man imbued with the spirit of Christianity, the Christian in deed as well as in name, will strive to do as he would be done by.

But after all, one inexorable law finally settles this as it does so many other economic questions, and that is the law of demand and supply. Neither capital nor mental or physical force can for long escape or avoid the operation of this law, and generally all attempts to avoid it have been attended with loss and often with suffering. Notwithstanding that the employer seeks to obtain labor

at the cheapest rate, under the operation of this law he must pay what the labor is worth, that, is give labor its share of the product. If he does not his laborers leave him, because they can do better elsewhere.

Sometimes, but rarely, by means of strikes laborers succeeded in obtaining higher wages. If the laborers are not receiving their proportion of the product, that is, not receiving the wages to which they are entitled, I see no reason why they should not leave their work *en masse*. I see no reason why they should not form combinations to improve their condition.

This, however, by no means justifies the laborers who strike from preventing or endeavoring to prevent other men from working for wages that are not satisfactory to themselves. Such action is a violation of every principle of liberty and common sense. In case of a strike the employer must either comply with the demands of the strikers, employ other laborers, or discontinue the business, unless, as more usually happens, the strikers return to work. Most strikes have been unsuccessful, because the demands of the laborers have been unreasonable.

Neither sentimental nor moral considerations can settle the rate of wages any more than they can regulate the rate of interest for money or the price of wheat or cloth.

The moment when human society emerged from its simplest condition, the barbarous state, when production became sufficient to provide for more than the bare necessities of existence, and consequently there was a division of labor, that moment the relations of labor of both kinds, mental and physical, became complex. As production increased, and the savings from consumption, that is, wealth or capital, increased, this complexity increased. In the primitive state of man there was only an exchange of products between individuals of the same tribe. The next step was exchange with individuals of the nearest tribe. Now, the producer in America exchanges a portion of his product with the producer in Asia. There is a mutual interchange of products between the people of every climate and country. Shovels made in Easton are used in Australia. Sewing-machines made in Connecticut are sold in Holland. Wheat grown in Minnesota is consumed in England. Bacon and hams are made from hogs grown in Illinois, cured in Massachusetts, and used as food in Norway and Sweden. Demand in one country is met by supply from another. Commodities from South America are sent to the United States and paid for by commodities sent by the United States to England. The

ramifications of the system actually at work, embracing the whole globe, are almost infinite, and each part affects to a greater or less degree every other part. It is like the law of gravitation. There is and can be no absolute independence of one from another. If the demand for shovels in Australia falls off, then there is not so much work for the laborers in Easton, and wages fall off there. The demand of those laborers for articles for necessity, comfort, convenience, and pleasure is diminished, and that affects those engaged in supplying that demand. The price of commodities is regulated by the demand and the means of supplying that demand. The wages of those employed in the labor which enters into the production of those commodities therefore must be governed by this law of demand and supply. This is no matter of theory or speculation. Law rules here as in nature, — a law not enacted by any legislature and depending for its execution on governmental officials, but law arising from the nature of things and which is self-executing. Fortunate it is that such is the case. Communistic, socialistic, and all sorts of theories have been tried, often by well-meaning persons, who have been sincerely desirous of doing good to their fellow-men, but they have been failures. Those which have apparently succeeded have been those where the parties engaged have, consciously or unconsciously, obeyed the general law, and where the respective forces, mental and physical, employed have received their proportionate share of the fruits of the combined labor. There have been and are cases where one party has voluntarily given to the other of his share. Indeed this is constantly done. But this is charity, and however beautiful this grace of charity, however much we admire and praise it, however much we ought to practice it ourselves, it is not the principle which can be relied on to govern human action in the universal working of that action. In that field it is law and not grace that rules.

The objection is made to the practical bearing of the views above stated as to the effect of the law of demand and supply on the rate of wages, that at the present time, owing to the "manipulations" of the cunning and unscrupulous, the law does not have its normal and wholesome operation; that a few obtain not what they are legitimately entitled to from the larger product obtained through the application of mental force, but by their manipulations acquire an undue share. And the colossal fortunes made by a few men in the last ten or twenty years are referred to as evidence of this. But those fortunes, where they

have not been fairly the result of increased production, resulting from new enterprises or new processes, have been made by capitalists preying on capitalists, and they have not been taken out of the earnings of the wage-earners. Those fortunes are the results of manipulations of existing capital in the way of speculation, and have nothing to do with current production or the division of that product. So, too, with the great corporations, objects of peculiar suspicion just now. The aggregation of capital by means of association in corporations has been of actual benefit to the laborers in the increase of production, the cheapening the cost of commodities in common use, and the advance of wages. This has been so completely proved by a recent writer, by reference to facts and figures, that it is unnecessary to go over the ground a second time.

Again, it has been said that a large part of modern commercial skill lies in watching the operation of demand and accommodating the supply to it, and that a considerable factor, as things are today, is in watching the demand, and so "manipulating" the supply, sometimes even "throttling" it, as to create artificial values and concentrate in very few hands the profits that should flow naturally and proportionately to all. True, it is of almost supreme importance that the demand be so watched that the supply should be accommodated to it. In the vast complexity of the operations growing out of the interchange of commodities, unless the supply of each be regulated according to the demand for each, there will be difficulty, and the impossibility of always forming a correct judgment in this respect by the managers of production occasions loss whenever mistakes are made. And at times the mistakes have been such as to create very serious disturbances in the whole industrial system. With man's limited knowledge and faculties such mistakes will from time to time be made.

If there was never a mistake in the construction of the machinery or the operation of a railroad, there would be no accidents; but no one proposes to abandon railroads because of the occasional loss of life and injuries to persons and property from those mistakes, but rather to impress upon the managers the importance of using all possible care to avoid the mistakes. The answer to the suggestion of "manipulating" and "throttling" the supply is, that it cannot be done to an extent sufficient to affect in an appreciable degree the general operation of the law. It has done and may do so in rare and strictly exceptional cases. But as matter of fact, those who have attempted operations of this character have generally failed to accomplish their object, and have been them-

selves involved in ruin. The result of business experience in this matter is that the manager of capital, the employer of labor, who carefully examines the field, ascertains the normal demand, and regulates his contribution of supply to that demand, succeeds, and in his success the laborers he employs share. He may (and it will be in proportion to his judgment and sagacity) obtain a large share of profit,—or, in other words, grow rich,—but the men and women he employs will participate in his prosperity, and obtain more than they otherwise would.

One of the errors which now possess the minds of the honest portion of the laboring classes is, to use the words of another, “that capacity guided by cunning is not so much increasing production as manipulating its results and profits in its own interests.” I concede that there are plenty of men willing and desirous, nay, even striving, to do this, but they cannot succeed. The laws which govern are stronger than they are, and in striving to evade or violate those laws they will, as they always have done, with rare exceptions, fail.

There always has been, and probably will be, discontent in the world. And a certain kind of discontent is essential to human progress. If everybody was satisfied with everything as it is, there would be no improvement. That discontent which leads to action in the way of progress, in the way of really bettering man's condition and in making man himself better, is a noble element of character, and the nations who have had the most of it have made the greatest advances in civilization. But the discontent which is now agitating the laboring class in this country arises from ignorance, and the efforts they have made in the way of strikes, boycotting, and the like, while they have done harm to the employers, have done more harm to the laborers themselves. They and their families have been the greatest sufferers.

There is hardship and suffering in this world. There has ever been since Adam left the Garden. But the condition of humanity has been by slow degrees improving. The improvement has not been continuous; there have been breaks, fearful breaks, in the process. These breaks have generally been caused by the refusal of men to obey the laws which govern the progress. This refusal is no doubt often caused by ignorance. But whatever the cause, the effect is the same. What will be the immediate outcome of the agitation now prevailing in this country no one can predict. The ultimate result is certain.

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Boston.



## THE LEIPZIG BOOK-TRADE.

WHEN an Englishman visited the Leipzig Book Fair many years ago, a German bookseller expressed himself to the stranger in this wise: "We leave to the French their glory; we leave to the English their bags of gold; but we — we fall back upon our books." And it is even so. Last year Germany exported books roughly estimated to be worth, at publishers' rates, 20,500,000 marks, and imported from other countries to the value of about 7,500,000 marks. Her own publications reached last year the extraordinary number of 16,305 works.

One is not in Leipzig long before he discovers abundant evidence that he is in a city of books. The words *Buchdruckerei* (printing-house), *Buchhandlung* (book-store), and *Buchbinderei* (book-bindery) meet the eye with astonishing frequency. On University Street perhaps half of the stores are bookstores.

Leipzig is the centre of the German book-trade, — the most important city, therefore, in the book-trade of the world. Not even London or Paris can rival Leipzig in the number, variety, and importance of its publications.

More than a century ago Frankfort-on-the-Main was a more important book centre than Leipzig; but it long since retired into the background, and is now outranked by even such cities as Berlin, Vienna, and Stuttgart. Of late years Berlin has tried to win the supremacy away from Leipzig, but has found it impossible. When it was found necessary not long ago to determine upon the erection of a Book Exchange — the old one here having become too small — Berlin made strenuous efforts to secure the building, and thus displace Leipzig. The city council of Leipzig, however, came generously to the rescue, and offered the *Börsenverein* an excellent site, worth 400,000 marks. The local *Verein* of Leipzig itself offered to contribute 10,000 marks yearly, for five years. At the Easter Fair, last year, it was decided to erect the building here. It is to cost about 900,000 marks. The work is to be begun this summer, — and so Leipzig retains its old supremacy.

In past years political events, and the press-laws occasioned by these, retarded the development of the Leipzig book-trade. The oppressive measures of Napoleon bore with especial weight upon the booksellers. The case of the Nuremberg bookseller whom the tyrant ordered to be shot for selling a pamphlet aimed against him served as a warning to others to keep themselves from the

same fate. Although the Leipzig book-trade came out of the Napoleonic wars, like Germany herself, in a somewhat crippled condition, it nevertheless came out, like Germany again, with boundless hope for the future. Immediately after those dark days the book-trade of Leipzig began to look up. The great firm of F. A. Brockhaus, founded in the first decade of the century, and long celebrated through the "Conversations-Lexicon," was removed to Leipzig four years after Napoleon was driven across the Rhine. Other Leipzig houses date from this period. In the year 1825 *Der Börsenverein der Deutschen Buchhändler* was founded, with its headquarters at Leipzig. Eight years later *Der Verein der Buchhändler in Leipzig* was founded. The political agitations which shook Europe about this time and in 1848 had an unfavorable effect on the book-trade here. The Dresden government, sharing in the apprehensions which, during this period, made all the thrones of Europe uncomfortable, adopted a series of press-laws which subjected publishers to great inconveniences and annoyances. For the twenty or thirty years beginning with 1835, the history of these laws presents a chapter of not very pleasant reading. Many were the remonstrances of the book-men. Delegations passed back and forth between Leipzig and Dresden to hold fruitless interviews with immovable ministers. When the Germans write of these things now, they interject frequent exclamation points. The numerous remonstrances of the publishers and booksellers having proved in vain, they desisted from further appeal, and stolidly bore the inconveniences to which they were subjected.

In 1870, however, the Saxon government brought forward, of its own accord, a law for the freedom of the press, which conceded to the book-men all that they had so long petitioned for without effect; and when the Reichstag, in 1874, passed a general law for the freedom of the press, it only insured to the Leipzig firms the liberty they were already enjoying.

It is highly interesting to compare the two periods immediately before and after 1870, as illustrating the effect of the law of that year. During the twelve years preceding 1870, the number of book firms established in Leipzig was 118; during the twelve years following 1870, and including it, the number was 386. In such a rapid development of course many firms disappear, either by failure, by being merged into other firms, or by any other change of name. Of the 386 above-mentioned, 156 had so disappeared before the end of 1882.

The number of firms engaged in the book-trade in Leipzig, at the close of last year, was 556. This does not include the binderies, of which there is a vast number, nor such printing-houses as are not engaged in the sale of their own productions. It is said that 30,000 persons — more than one sixth of the population of Leipzig, — are supported by the book-trade and the trades connected with it. The book-trade is more lucrative and more extensive than any other in Leipzig. I am told that there are about twenty millionaires among the Leipzig book-men; but the word millionaire means only one fourth as much here (the money being reckoned in marks) as it does in America.

Of the 556 booksellers and publishers here 380 are members of the Verein der Buchhändler in Leipzig, — the most important local society of booksellers in Germany. Under the direction of this Verein are two very interesting institutions. The first is the *Lehranstalt*, or "Teaching-institution." Its object is to teach young men who wish to become booksellers the intricacies of the book-trade. It has a faculty of eight teachers, and there are at present about forty young men in attendance. These are in the employment of the various booksellers; and as they are in the institute only two hours daily, they are thus enabled to earn a support from the start. The course covers three years; the fees for tuition are paid by the employers of the pupils. Young men from neighboring countries come here to learn the book-trade.

The second and more important institution is the *Bestellanstalt*, or "Ordering-institution," through which all orders for books pass. Each order is made out on a small slip of paper — a *Zettel*, as the Germans say — and sent to the *Bestellanstalt*. Here the zettels are assorted twice daily, and sent to the appropriate firms. The daily average of zettels thus passing through the *Bestellanstalt* is about 60,000. On the busier days the number runs above 80,000. Almost 2,000,000 zettels pass through it annually.

A large number of the Leipzig firms are *Kommissionäre*, or book-factors. The *Kommittenten*, or firms represented by these, are 5,915, two very large houses representing each about 450 firms. Every bookseller in Germany — except, perhaps, the most insignificant ones — has his kommissionär in Leipzig. Every publisher also has his kommissionär here, with whom a complete assortment of his publications is stored.

The following illustration may serve to show how this system works: Schmidt, a bookseller in Jena, wishes a book published by

Müller, in Bonn. Among the zettels which he sends to-day to Wagner, his kommissionär in Leipzig, he will inclose one with the name of this book. As soon as Wagner receives the zettel he sends it to the Bestellanstalt. At the next distribution it is sent to Schneider, Müller's Leipzig kommissionär. Schneider sends the book to Wagner, and he in turn forwards it to Jena. This may look like a rather complicated process, but in reality the saving is very great. Suppose Schmidt receives orders to-day for books published by fifty different firms; at a great saving of labor and postage he sends his zettels, all under a single inclosure, to Wagner, who forwards the books at once. In some cases, as in the shipment of books to Leipzig, there are certain days on which a composite packet is made up by the different houses, and the books are thus sent at a reduced cost.

The Bestellanstalt is supported by the Leipzig Verein, the members being divided into twenty-eight classes, and paying according to rank. A great firm like that of Brockhaus pays 1,100 marks yearly, while a member of the twenty-eighth class pays but three marks.

Since, however, the postal affairs have come under the control of the imperial government, an excellent packet-service has been created. When greater haste is required in filling small orders booksellers often send now directly to the publishers; and as the postal charges are very low, this custom has grown greatly of late.

With nearly 2,000,000 zettels passing through the Bestellanstalt annually, it will be seen that the exchange of packets among the Leipzig firms is an immense business. Efforts were made some years ago to establish a bureau for the general delivery of packets; but the measure was looked upon as inexpedient and was therefore dropped. Each kommissionär distributes the books ordered from him. The method of delivering the packets is very simple, almost primitive. Large willow baskets containing the packets are placed upon a two-wheeled frame, which is dragged about the streets by one or two stout youngsters, these rather odd vehicles being seldom out of one's sight on the streets. Teams are used, of course, for large orders.

Most books, except school-books, the works of standard literature, — except, in short, all such books as find ready sale among the masses, — are given to the public unbound. Nearly all works designed for students and men engaged in scholarly occupations are issued in paper covers and are uncut. The buyer may thus have his books bound according to his tastes and resources. Binding is done in Leipzig very cheaply. An octavo volume is

excellently bound for twenty-five cents ; in cheaper style for half of that sum. The more important kommissionäre have one or more binderies in connection with their establishments, so as to meet orders for bound volumes expeditiously.

For the book-men, the great event of the year is the Book Fair, which is held every year soon after Easter. At this time all accounts must be settled. Booksellers assemble from all parts of Germany and from foreign countries. Formerly the Fair lasted a week ; but now, with improved business methods and the more perfect consolidation of the book-trade, only two days are required. In connection with the Fair there is usually a display of the recent productions of the press, and all improvements and inventions affecting the book-trade ; but this feature will be omitted this year. The Fair is under the auspices of the Börsenverein, which holds its yearly meeting at this time. It is composed of 1,544 members, and includes many German booksellers in neighboring nations. Besides this great Verein, which covers all departments of the trade, there are eight other general Vereins for special departments ; and these eight also meet usually at the Easter Fair.

The prééminence of Leipzig in the book-trade may be seen from the following table, showing the number of kommissionäre in the four principal centres, together with their kommittenten.

Kommissionäre.	Cities.	Kommittenten.
16	Stuttgart.	443
33	Berlin.	339
37	Vienna.	609
136	Leipzig.	5,915

The growth of the German book-trade may be seen from the following table. German publications of Austria and Switzerland are included.

Date.	No. of works published.	Date.	No. of works published.
1564	256	1870	10,108
1600	832	1880	14,940
1700	951	1884	15,607
1764	1,344	1885	16,305
1800	3,906		

Comparing the English production with this, we find that in 1884 there were published in England 4,832 works, and that in 1885 the number fell to 4,307. The English claim, however, that the Germans count a great many minor publications as books which in England would be included in reports.

Examining the character of the German books for the past two years we get the following table, omitting the less interesting divisions.

	1884	1885
Pedagogy, including school-books . . . . .	2,039	2,169
Law, politics, etc. . . . .	1,472	1,483
Theology . . . . .	1,461	1,391
Polite literature . . . . .	1,303	1,345
Medicine, veterinary works, etc. . . . .	928	904
Natural science, chemistry, pharmacy, etc. . . . .	835	851
History, biography, etc. . . . .	807	777
Classics, oriental languages, antiquities, mythology . . . .	612	710
Fine arts . . . . .	623	660
Modern languages, including O. G. literature . . . . .	489	570
Mathematics, astronomy, etc. . . . .	204	252
Philosophy . . . . .	132	136

These figures are taken from the "Börsenblatt," the official organ of the Börsenverein. It appears daily throughout the year except Sundays and holidays.

Among English-speaking people the best known of all the Leipzig publishers is Baron Tauchnitz. His famous "Collection of British Authors," to which the name "Tauchnitz Edition" soon came to be applied, has made his name familiar on both sides of the Atlantic. Nearly all the standard works of England and America, including vast numbers of works by the more successful novelists of the present century, appear in this edition. The first volume, Bulwer's "Pelham," appeared in 1841; and the series had already in 1868 reached its thousandth number, — an event celebrated by publishing the King James Version of the Bible. Tauchnitz recognizes the rights of authors, and pays the English and Americans according to a fixed contract. Lord Macaulay received in this way 16,000 thalers (nearly \$12,000), and his heirs continue to receive a royalty.



The great publisher is now seventy years old; though, from his erect carriage, brisk movements, and fresh, kindly features, he looks scarcely more than fifty. The baronetcy was conferred on him in 1860, and for some years he has been British consul for Saxony.

Another well-known Leipzig firm is that of Karl Baedeker, the publisher of the famous guide-books for nearly all parts of the world. This firm was founded at Coblenz in 1827 by the Baedeker whose name it bears. It was moved to Leipzig in 1871, and is now owned by Fritz Baedeker.

William C. Dreher.

UNIVERSITY OF LEIPZIG.

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#### BEYSCHLAG'S "LIFE OF CHRIST."<sup>1</sup>

It is very gratifying to see believing scholarship at length prosecuting in good earnest the task of making a scientific representation of our Lord's life; scientific, inasmuch as the Gospels are employed in it as the established principles of historical science require. We must take care, it should be said at the outset, not to overestimate the value of this work. One disposed to make his trust in Jesus as the eternal Son of God and the world's Redeemer dependent upon the solution of a scientific problem, and so to base his faith upon scientific conclusions, will soon find that he is leaning upon a broken reed. For our knowledge is fragmentary, and must ever remain so; while the scientific questions which present themselves here are so complicated, and, as regards some important points, so far from being settled, that a great variety of views may be, and, indeed, have been, built upon premises essentially identical.

This will appear from even a very hasty comparison of Beyschlag's "Life of Jesus" with that published by me a few years since.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Das Leben Jesu*. Von Willibald Beyschlag. 2 Bände. Halle, 1885-86.

This article was written in German for the *Andover Review*. An article will appear in a later number, discussing some of the leading points touched upon, from another point of view from that occupied by this distinguished scholar.

<sup>2</sup> The discrepancy is not quite so great, it should be said, as it appears to be. Beyschlag took a mistaken course, and one likely to mislead any one of his readers who may measure the value of labor in any department of science by

But if the results obtained by applying critical tests to the sources are still so far from being certain, how can they serve as the foundation of a faith which must stand upon an immovable foundation if it stand at all? No; our faith rests upon the apostolic preaching, and upon our personal experience of the redeeming, sanctifying, and joy-giving power of this message of salvation. And so supported, it furnishes a legitimate presumption that the account of the life of Jesus given us in the Gospels cannot furnish a picture of our Redeemer distorted and misleading in any essential particular; that is, in any such way as to affect our religious knowledge. But how far God has been pleased to give us in these documents, and in the means of testing them at our command, the possibility of obtaining a knowledge of the facts of our Lord's life scientifically established in all respects, — as to this our faith has no testimony to give.

It cannot be said too often: one who is seeking a strengthened faith, a quickened love to the Saviour, incitement to follow Christ's example, relief from the sense of sin, or comfort under the trials of life, and who would therefore give his whole soul to contemplating the Master and the Master's life, should not go to a "*Life of Jesus.*" For such an one the Gospels as they lie before us contain the best and the sufficient representation of our Lord's life. He will not need a theory of inspiration to help him believe them, nor will he find himself stumbling over "contradictions;" he will not see any, because there are none which reach to the great fact which gives value to the whole narrative. The miraculous elements in the story, to him who sees lying over against them the unique miracle of Christ's entrance into human life, with its supernatural and gracious effect upon his own past and present life, will appear to be not discordant with nature, — yes, to be self-evidencing.

It was not until faith began to lose its first vigor, and its sense of immediate contact with its object, that the practice of basing the credibility of the Gospels upon a theory of inspiration invented in the face of contravening and obvious facts began. Theologians tried quietly to ignore the points in which the narrative the finality of the results yielded by it, in scarcely ever alluding to the extensive agreement between our respective conclusions, — while, on the other hand, he constantly turns the polemic edge of his representation against my work. Let me say here, once for all, that I must refer those who wish to know the points in respect to which we differ, and to test our respective views, to my book. Beyschlag's necessarily hasty allusions to it give for the most part a distorted, sometimes, indeed, a positively incorrect representation of my views and their supporting basis.

tives vary, or to reconcile their discrepancies by artificial harmonizing. Presently Christ's mighty works began to be viewed as literally "miracles," whose real significance lay in their power to compel faith, notwithstanding their incompetency to produce this result in Jesus's lifetime and ever since, and notwithstanding our Lord's low opinion of a faith based on signs and wonders.

In this way a mistaken apologetic itself put weapons into the hands of skepticism. And skepticism did not give over the assault for which such aid had been given it until it had done its best to show that the content of our Gospels, all but a trifling, scarcely perceptible, remnant of fact, consists of legend, myth, and so-called *Tendenz* invention. Negative criticism, in trying to establish this conclusion, gained such help from its success in meeting a mistaken apologetic that many childlike minds began to doubt the trustworthiness of the Gospels, and to suspect that faith in the Christ presented by the apostles and a salvation brought into the world by Him would pass away from the earth. Thus it became necessary to begin an entirely new structure on the ruins of the old one, demolished by the critics.

The genesis of the Gospels and their mutual relations had to be settled in accordance with the principles of historical criticism, and so their trustworthiness as sources of history established. The variation manifest in the parallel accounts of some events had to be accounted for, and the underlying fact found out through careful examination of the several narratives. Then, too, the miraculous elements in our Lord's life, easily established as historical reality, needed to be set forth in their natural and indissoluble connection with that great, all-inclusive miracle — his Person. Yet it must be added that it was not in the power of scientific demonstration, however perfect, to beget a belief in *this* miracle. Minds with whose *a priori* assumptions it is not in harmony will always find ways of getting rid of the proofs of the trustworthiness of the Gospels. Only those who are free from arbitrary philosophical presuppositions can receive it. The task of giving a historical representation of Christ's life is reserved for believing science, — science which has been freed by faith from theorizing prejudice.

Beyschlag has just taken a place among those who have given themselves to this work. His contribution to it we now proceed to consider.

His book consists of two divisions, about equal in size. The first, by a process of scientific research, lays the foundation of the

narrative of which the second consists. The author thinks this to be by far the best way of writing a *Life of Christ*; but I cannot think that the work to be done can so be best accomplished, and I believe that the work in hand gives ground for my opinion, in spite of Beyschlag's great narrative talent. To say nothing of the large amount of annoying repetition which this method has occasioned, it has robbed of their convincingness many of the deductions of the first part, since they now appear only as the result of separate critical processes instead of being put into connection with correlated facts. On the other hand, in reading many of the historical statements of the second part one feels the lack of the underlying reasons, which cannot in every instance be carried over from the investigations of the first. And the greater the effort a writer makes to construct out of the fragments given by the Gospel tradition a new and living whole, — a unity which does not lie immediately manifest in them, — the more imperative is the duty he owes the church, which has from of old rightly held these fragmentary Gospels sacred, to give his reasons for every departure from the narrative, and to go on with his own new structure only so fast as he defends the changes it requires. Such a separation as is found in Beyschlag's book between pictorial statement and its historical grounds would be permissible only in case the preliminary inquiries had led to results in all respects well established, — such as would have gone over into the details of the narrative as a matter of course. Such results Beyschlag would, it may be presumed, lay no claim to have reached. Perhaps, however, it is to his overrating in some degree the security of his conclusions that he hardly ever undertakes to justify them as against opposing views. But the combat with Strauss and Baur, and the criticism founded by them, is not yet fought out, and the summary way of meeting their arguments often employed takes due account neither of the fascinating gifts of these writers nor of the actual difficulties against which their polemic is directed.

Were I to try to give a full account of the contents of the book in hand, I could hardly do justice to the wealth of its contents, and could not give an adequate idea of its attractive form. I shall, therefore, simply endeavor to point out that which is distinctive in the main positions and in the leading results arrived at, speaking indiscriminately of what belongs to either of the two main divisions of the work.

Every scientific representation of the life of Jesus must have

its beginning in the writer's examination of the sources, and his decision as to their respective values. And when this part of his work is examined, the central question respecting it must be as to his attitude towards the fourth Gospel. If we find that he rejects this Gospel, we may conclude that he has not made a really historical picture of the life of Christ. Shut up in the narrow circle of events furnished by the synoptics (assumed of late to be that to which our Lord's life was actually restricted), he is sure to go wrong. The structure of the synoptic Gospels, and the conditions which brought them into being, make this inevitable. Such a writer has not even the means at hand for reaching a just view of Christ's Person. We need not fear finding in Beyschlag one thus disqualified for the work in hand; for he has long been admitted to be among the keenest and sturdiest defenders of the fourth Gospel. His belief in its genuineness is not of a blind, uncritical nature. On the contrary, he belongs to those who deem it a thing not incompatible with the genuineness of this Gospel that our Lord's discourses and conversations should throughout be freely reported in it, and should have explanatory and interpretative suggestions from the hand of John. Unless this is assumed, the Gospel cannot be regarded as a source of historical knowledge concerning Christ, to be united with that which comes from the other Gospels into a complete representation. But the distinction drawn between the Johannean form of these discourses and their original content will excite a not unjust suspicion that we are taking away the basis of confidence in their historicity, unless it is carried through in a more thorough and severely scientific way than Beyschlag's. If he had done this part of his work well, it would have become apparent that the fourth Gospel may be put to a larger and more confident use than that which it has received in his book; that, behind the veil of the Johannean representation of Christ's discourses, the historical outlines are visible with a distinctness which he, with his eclectic way of treating the Gospel, cannot ascribe to them. On the other hand, it is not necessary to make, as he does, a distinction between events pictorially represented by John and occurrences narrated by the synoptists; or to force a harmony between the Johannean and the synoptic account of an incident when the narratives naturally interpreted do not give it, and when its absence can be easily explained.

We proceed to consider our author's use of the first three Gospels. Let it be said, by way of preface, that the current criticism which sees only in the first the genuine nucleus of apostolic tradi-

tion, which has even here passed through the hands of several revisers; which finds in Luke a new edition of the same, shaped more or less by *Tendenz*, and in Mark only an epitome of the other two, puts the historical value of the three on a very low plane. As regards Beyschlag's criticism of these Gospels its leading feature is that he takes the view of their genesis which is steadily winning the approval of unprejudiced investigators, namely, that which makes all the three rest, speaking generally, upon two ancient sources; namely, the "Logia" (that is, the collection made by the apostle Matthew of traditional material, consisting principally of sayings of our Lord), and the notes which Mark set down from his recollection of things told him by Peter about Christ.

We also regard him correct in thinking that our whole synoptic literature, including its written sources, came into being between 66 and 80 A. D. We only regret that he still defends the *Ur-Marcus* hypothesis, the untenableness of which has been repeatedly shown by the modifications it has received, and which has at last been given up by its first propounder. According to this hypothesis, our second Gospel is not the "Mark source" which was used by the other two Evangelists, but is a revision of this source. Beyschlag has had no better success than other defenders of the theory in finding a probable motive for making this revision. In maintaining the hypothesis he even goes so far as to distinguish this assumed foundation of our present second Gospel from the document which Papias attests Mark to have written, and which, as described by him, corresponds so exactly with our Mark. This criticism not only seriously impairs the historical value of our second Gospel, but stands in the way of an insight into its genesis, and the circumstances attending its composition. More than this, it makes its followers unable to recognize the full compass of that original Gospel of Matthew, known to the author of our second Gospel, but employed by the other two synoptists much more extensively, and to reconstruct it with scientific certainty, — a feasible task, and one which must be performed before the primitive Matthew can render its full service as a historical source.

But an adequate use of our Gospels is not insured by a comprehension of their genesis and mutual relations. Such comprehension may serve as a foundation for a favorable opinion concerning the trustworthiness of the information they bring, but it cannot, of itself, give a fixed norm for the transmission of particular facts. Nor, indeed, can this be had unless we give the processes through which the report of eye-witnesses of Christ's



life has become the written narrative before us, a more thorough scrutiny, and one showing a better mastery of principles than Beyschlag seems to have given it. His deficiency in this particular shows itself in his conceding on the one hand that legend-making is one of the factors which have produced our Gospels, and in claiming on the other hand for the synoptic report of Jesus's very language a certainty of exactness not only incompatible with the nature of oral tradition, but also in broad contrast with the free way in which, according to Beyschlag himself, John has reported our Lord's discourses, — whose report alone, be it remembered, comes to us directly from an eye-witness. Moreover, Beyschlag has not recognized, and of course has not set forth the reasons for the freedom which our evangelists evidently allowed themselves in working over their written sources, notwithstanding that a careful examination of the text affords the fullest proof of this freedom. It is this omission that enables a writer who regards the Evangelists' account of Christ's birth and childhood as essentially legendary, to pose as the champion of strict belief in the credibility of the gospel tradition. Beyschlag's omission to subject the sources to a scientific examination has just this effect upon his method, that when he comes to set forth the facts in detail, he uses purely subjective tests, and, instead of asking what the earliest tradition commends as being well authenticated, accepts or rejects according as it may suit his general conception of the history. As an especial illustration of this subjectiveness may be mentioned his receiving, without question, secondary touches from Luke's hand, under the influence of a one-sided preference for the third Gospel. Beyschlag is thus capable of falling back into the old vice of harmonizing, by which discrepant features of the narrative were forced into an arbitrary representation. And, on the other hand, he carries his assumption that we have the very words of Jesus to the point of declaring varying reports of the same saying to be different utterances of our Lord.

In regard to Beyschlag's treatment of the parables, it must be said that his exegesis is always deficient in exact method, and, notwithstanding his insistence on the letter of Scripture, capable of adapting itself often to his prepossessions, has not avoided the too common error of confounding the historical meaning and the allegorizing employment of that meaning. And since the allegorizing treatment of the parables begins within the Gospel narratives (a thing capable of demonstration, and consonant with

the edifying aim of the Gospels), until in John's Gospel the original parabolical form is almost entirely obliterated, all means of discriminating between what is original and what is secondary are lacking to him. Here, as elsewhere, he claims to be defending the Evangelists against a lawless skepticism, but he does not see that his polemic for the letter is only justified when a point of view is taken which he not only does not take himself, but even strongly condemns.

That our author is not really solicitous for the letter of the Gospels becomes evident as soon as that letter fails to harmonize with his own presuppositions, and is especially manifest in the great freedom which he allows himself in his treatment of such discourses of Christ as they contain. Any one who has considered the conditions under which the oldest tradition of our Lord's words came into being must be aware that it could have been, and actually was, only through a remarkably favorable combination of circumstances that there was preserved to us not merely a precious treasure of scattered sayings and single parables, but also a number of series of connected sayings, and even the substance of larger discourses given in their historical connection. These latter are, it is true, according to the point of view of the writer in whose Gospel they are respectively found, sometimes abbreviated, sometimes united with other discourses; but we know such union only through examination conducted by scientific methods, and it is not until we find in the mutual relations of the sources a valid reason for it, or can point out in them the separate sayings or discourses in their individuality, that we have the right to take them out of the connection into which they have been set by the Evangelists.

But it is plain that Beyschlag has, without being able to furnish any such critical reason for his procedure, broken up many of the larger discourses, and used the fragments, sometimes here, sometimes there, as comports with purely subjective points of view. In doing this he has often torn these discourses out of their historical setting, and so made it impossible to form a confident opinion as to what they mean.

At any rate, to profess the most implicit confidence in the traditional wording of the separate sayings, and yet to subject the affirmation of the tradition as to the connection of these sayings to a trenchant criticism, is a self-contradictory procedure. That the real reason for our author's giving the tradition severe treatment here is his stumbling at its contents, is evident notably in

his attitude towards the great parousia-discourse. It should also be said that our Gospels give means of joining the successive events and discourses which he has overlooked, and that in consequence of this, he often throws facts together in a promiscuous heap.

It is gratifying that Beyschlag stoutly defends the chronology which reckons the fifteenth year of Tiberius's reign from the beginning of his joint rule with Augustus. The critics have tried to cry down this view as an apologetic makeshift; but its removing the difficulties of the chronology of the Evangelists is far from being its sole recommendation. It is commended by independent considerations of no mean force. Beyschlag also stands firm against hostile criticism in the view that assigns two years to our Lord's ministry, putting it between 27 and 29 A. D. But his procedure in distributing through these two years the facts presented in the Gospels is marred throughout by two faults, in which a confirmation of what was said above about his exegesis may be found. First, Christ's baptismal work in Judea (a purely preparatory work) is made to extend from the Passover of the first year to the following December, while the momentous period of the Galilean activity, of which we have such a rich report, is contracted to three months! In the way of this chronology stands John iv. 35, implying that Jesus, in his journey through Samaria, was surrounded by corn-fields which were already growing green. This obstacle cannot be removed by taking the words as a proverb, — this interpretation has long been shown to be untenable, notwithstanding that Beyschlag advocates it; and, indeed, new difficulties respecting the work in Galilee present themselves as soon as the words are thus understood, as appears in our author's own narrative. Beyschlag has done a yet more arbitrary thing in altering, under the stress of his view of the miracle of Cana, the "few days" of John i. 12 to several weeks, to make a space of time in which Jesus could inaugurate his public labors. Our author puts into the space thus secured (having arbitrarily set for a later date the calling of the apostles) a series of events belonging to the Galilean ministry, and first related by Mark. This procedure obscures the meaning of Christ's cleansing of the Temple — that so natural opening of his public career. A second and more serious fault in Beyschlag's chronology remains to be pointed out. It is hard to conceive how he could reckon Christ's open return to his baptismal work, a return which was evidently the result of his experiences at the first passover, as belonging to our Lord's

first "course of victory." The assignment causes the step referred to, with its consequences, to wear an entirely false light. The view that it was the tidings of the Baptist's imprisonment which brought this baptismal work to an end finds no support whatever in John iv. 1. On the other hand, Beyschlag regards Christ's public appearance as Messiah in Galilee, with its peculiar message of the nearness of the kingdom, and its manifold miracles, as one of Jesus's "retreats." He makes this part of his career open (notwithstanding the indications of a different order which Luke gives) with the scene in the synagogue of Nazareth, which he assumes to have actually issued in an attack upon Jesus's life. For such attack, at this time, no intelligible motive can be given. Following out this beginning, he carries the Galilean labors, as given by Mark, as far as the first conflict about the Sabbath, and then makes Jesus once more "withdraw" himself from public labor to work within the limits of the discipleship. In doing this, however, he blurs the distinction between the wider and the closer circle of Christ's followers. And this disposition is in conflict with our oldest source in inserting here the calling of Peter and the sons of Zebedee at the Sea of Galilee. To this time belongs the main work of Jesus in Galilee, which our author describes under the heading, "The Kingdom of Heaven in Gennesareth."<sup>1</sup>

Beyschlag adheres to the right scheme of the public life of Jesus, in making the sending out of the disciples coincident with Christ's going up to attend the feast of Purim. But he breaks with the oldest and most trustworthy tradition in saying that not only the twelve, but seventy more disciples were sent forth on this occasion. Moreover, he has cut out of the discourse then spoken, transmitted from the oldest source by Luke, the very words which give the clearest historical view of the transaction and the accompanying circumstances. On the other hand, he appends to the work which, according to John, Jesus did in Jerusalem at the feast of Purim a quantity of synoptic matter, the appositeness of which

<sup>1</sup> Although Beyschlag holds with the first Evangelist that Jesus took up his abode in Capernaum, yet his narrative does not make our Lord live there except during the putative "few weeks" before the first passover, spoken of above, and the loosely designated "Capernaum days," which, from what he says about them, cannot have comprised the entire summer. Here it becomes evident that his rendering of John iv. 35 would, even if exegetically possible, give him no real help in setting forth the progress of Christ's work among the people, since the events narrated in his chapters VIII. and IX. cannot possibly have filled up the time between the summer of the first year and the following March.

cannot be established. While he is right in regarding the feeding of the five thousand, and the events immediately following, as the turning-point of Christ's work in Galilee, he is arbitrary in setting in connection with this crisis other events, which the Evangelists undoubtedly assign, and with good ground, to an earlier date. And in denying that the confession of Christ which John attributes to Peter is identical with that given by the synoptists, he destroys the close connection of events, and so hides the development of the historical forces at work. Beyschlag does not succeed in making it clear that this confession was made by Peter at the end of the long journey into Gentile regions, devoted entirely by our Lord to teaching his disciples. On the contrary, the departure for the feast of tabernacles, which came immediately after this confession, is even by him (and rightly) made directly to follow a last hasty visit to Galilee. Beyschlag assigns to Christ's work in Jerusalem between the feast of tabernacles and that of the dedication a quantity of synoptic material, which unquestionably belongs to the days just preceding the last passover. He reserves some more of this matter for the short time spent in Perea, although the sources furnish no reason for locating there the events alluded to.

From Perea Christ went to Bethany to raise Lazarus from the grave. Then came the last passover. Of what took place on this occasion Beyschlag gives a very meagre account. He puts into his description, however, the discussion about Christ's authority and its ground, which cannot be regarded as occurring at a time when Jesus was allowing the whole people to honor Him as the Messianic King.

We pass from our author's chronology to examine his treatment of details. Our minds naturally turn first to his attitude towards the supernatural side of our Lord's life. We regret to find that he has in this book abandoned the miraculous conception, which he has always hitherto defended, and that with it he has as good as thrown overboard the whole synoptic introduction to our Lord's life, on account of its poetic style.

Of course he cannot, with his presupposition as to the origin of our Gospels, show it to be conceivable that in circles to which Jesus's family belonged, during the lifetime of some of his near kindred, a legend could have grown up which exposed Mary to gross slander from all who were not Christian believers; but this he is bound to do, for if we do not accept the account of Jesus's birth as a report of fact, we have to deal with legend, pure and simple. Of the beautiful thoughts which Beyschlag lauds as con-

taining the "essential truth" of this "poetic story," we have to say that not the slightest trace of them is found in the Gospel narratives. The representation of the story as the product of these ideas utterly lacks the foundation of proof. Beyschlag's more impetuous than discreet polemic against recent attempts to prove that negative criticism has failed to show legend-making to have been here possible, not to say probable, only reveals the untenableness of the position he has finally taken. For he will not abide by its necessary conclusion. He will not admit that we have not much information concerning our Lord's birth and childhood. He would have us fully believe that a pure maiden, leading a retired life, engaged herself to a descendant of David, of a spirit congenial to hers, in the hope of giving birth, through him, to the Messiah. After, not before, she became pregnant, did she receive a divine revelation concerning the object of her maternal hopes. Joseph went to Bethlehem, not because led by a divine revelation, but because he made up his mind to go thither. That is to say, he migrated thither in order to have Micah v. 1 fulfilled. "The good tidings of great joy" did not come to the shepherds by supernatural revelation; Joseph imparted it to them as they stood about the manger in Bethlehem. To him this is history.

Beyschlag is disposed, to be sure (he has not reached full conviction in the matter), to allow Simeon, and the Chaldean magi, and the murder of the innocents, and the flight into Egypt, to keep their places in the narrative. But what right has he to do this? Many details of the latter can, it is true, here be referred to the poetical style of the narrative, but the right to hold to any substantial part of it as historically guaranteed is only gained by recognizing the basis of the tradition it embodies to be one of fact. This right is not possessed by a writer who finds in the tradition only a framework of fact, to be filled in at his pleasure with events substituted for those described in the Gospel narrative. If, for example, in the synoptic story of our Lord's childhood, we have fact so overgrown with myth that the nucleus of reality can only be guessed at, we cannot single out the visit of the boy Jesus to the Temple, and call it historical, merely because this part of the story presents no internal difficulties.

We come to Beyschlag's treatment of our Lord's miracles. Among these the so-called nature-miracles have always presented more difficulties than the rest, and notably that of the wedding in Cana, and that of the feeding of the five thousand. Beside



these we may put the walking upon the water, and the stilling of the tempest. Now, one who holds Beyschlag's presuppositions about the sources cannot speak here of "myth" or of "poetic" recasting of fact, nor say that a natural occurrence was misunderstood by eye-witnesses, and that their mistaken impression of its nature was embodied in the Gospel narrative. Such an one is shut up either to regarding the events in question as acts of sheer almighty power (exercised, of course, through Christ), or to the alternative of seeing in them acts of divine Providence which, in the representations of eye-witnesses, have become miracles of creative force. This is most plainly seen in the case of the miracle of Cana, which can more easily than the others be regarded as a work embodying creative might. But it is in the case of this miracle that Beyschlag would avoid the inevitable choice just described, and cling to the old view, which finds the key to the event in the subjective state of the witnesses of Christ's act; which is but one form, and that a bold one, of the so-called "natural explanation." This antiquated view adopted by our author makes Jesus to have caused water to be set before the guests, and by his power over their minds to have made it seem to them to be costly wine. This can mean nothing more than that the excitement into which Jesus's preaching threw them made the water taste like wine.

That the narrative does not speak of a preaching of Jesus at the wedding, and that it does not seem probable that He would preach on such an occasion; that the hypothesis of his preaching, if tenable, does not furnish an explanation of the matter-of-fact remark of the Master of the feast; that Jesus often afterwards discoursed at feasts, and stirred the minds of his hearers more deeply than he could have done here had he spoken, without making them think that the water they were drinking was wine, — these things need not be dwelt upon. An unprejudiced mind cannot help regarding the explanation as entirely artificial. Why our author has not freed himself from the prevailing doubt regarding the blighting of the fig-tree, — a matter regarding which our oldest source gives us positive testimony, — I am unable to comprehend.

That Beyschlag sees veritable miracles in Jesus's words of healing is not, of course, to be doubted. The various questions, however, which present themselves in connection with this part of our Lord's work are not distinctly set forth by him, much less clearly answered. Many of his conclusions respecting it can be taken

in a way in which he can hardly have meant them to be understood. If a power streaming from Jesus's person acts upon the soul-life of the sick, and on account of the subtle connection existing between the physical and psychical life restores the disordered body to health, such healing is, indeed, a product of our Lord's unique personality, but not a miracle, in the distinctive sense of the word. Beyschlag's depreciation of the external means sometimes employed by Jesus in working cures into pictorial representations of healing makes them harmonize with this view. But it is an artificial interpretation of these means which assigns to them such a function. And in what way a mere "will force working at a distance," ascribed by our author to Christ, and an extraordinary physical nature and bodily gifts, also attributed to Him, can be fitted into this theory does not appear.

Then, again, we are told that Christ's cures are due to the intensification of a power of mind known in its lower degrees to experience. Cures wrought by such psychical force might, it is said, easily seem preternatural to an age which did not know what rational treatment of illness was, and in which the arts and religion were not thought to lie in distinct spheres. But this suggestion certainly does not indicate a miraculous origin of these cures. Then, again, it is plainly said that Jesus, as the originator of a higher, ideal order of things, takes away in special cases the defect and the disarrangement belonging to the natural order.

These are, indeed, heterogeneous views of the nature of the cures which our Lord wrought. Beyschlag cannot be said to have shown how a miracle of healing can be both an heroic act of Christ's will, — an expression of self-hood in the highest sense, — and at the same time a deed of the Heavenly Father wrought in answer to Jesus's prayer, an act the initiatory impulse to which went sometimes from heaven down to earth, sometimes from earth up to heaven.

One searches his representation of single miraculous cures in vain for light upon this point. The details are hurriedly treated. If the paralytic to whom Jesus says, "Stretch forth thy hand," "only tried in faith to do this," the author's thought that the paralysis is actually removed by miracle and new power given to the nerves is hardly compatible with the belief that this effort of the patient was the sole cause of the change. Beyschlag does not regard the miracles of raising the dead attributed to Jesus as being cases of merely arousing from a death-like state. But his refusal to give the words "The maiden is not dead, but sleepeth"

the figurative meaning commonly thought to belong to them will prevent his rejection of this view from having much influence. Besides, a hard demand is made upon us when we are asked to explain the words in this way: "She can be awakened from the state which you call death, and I will rouse her from it." For apart from the daring alteration of the meaning of the words, "awakening" (in the original) can only be predicated of a state in which a natural waking up to life is not to be expected. So this interpretation would make the first clause imply that one who is actually dead cannot in any case be raised to life again, — whereas for God such a "cannot" does not exist.

The trace of modern rationalism lurking in Beyschlag's conception of Christ's miracles appears most plainly in his treatment of the cures wrought upon demoniacs. We need not here enter into the question whether his representation of the Biblical teaching about Satan, assumed to differ widely from that of modern orthodoxy (which last is as little established by exegesis as is the attenuated angelology sometimes presented as Scriptural), is in harmony with the intuition of Christ. In this, the essential point of the matter, that Jesus did not present a theory of the origin of evil, and did not teach a distinctive doctrine about Satan, every one will agree with him. To grant this is not in the slightest degree inconsistent with pronouncing Beyschlag's idea that the demoniacs of the Gospels were lunatics, or melancholic people, to be in flat contradiction to the declarations of the sources. One case, and only one, of madness is referred by our Gospels to demoniacal possession. For Beyschlag struggles in vain against the fact lying so patent in the original tradition that the raving boy was not thought to be possessed. And, indeed, his view of this case would give his theory no help, for epilepsy is not a mental disease. Besides, the Evangelists undoubtedly find the cause of purely physical sufferings in demoniacal possession. The earliest account (and such a vivid one!) of the healing of the demoniac who came into the synagogue of Capernaum certainly does not give the slightest hint of his having been afflicted by any form of mental disease. Moreover, that Beyschlag's theory leaves the demoniac's loud confession of Jesus as Messiah an inexplicable fact is only made more evident by his strange supposition regarding the demoniac of Gergesa, — that he whom, according to the express attestation of the narrative, "no man could come near" was "doubtless" summoned by people who had crossed the lake at the same time with Jesus, and who said, "Yonder comes the great demon-tamer of Capernaum."

What one who adopts our author's view is to think concerning the disordered nature's restraining itself at Christ's command, and how an instantaneous religious impression of abiding value can be made upon a crazy man, are problems harder of solution than that presented by demoniacal possession, taken according to the letter of the Gospels and the language used by our Lord. At the same time, it is obviously necessary to separate the superstitious popular conception of the fact, with its phantasms, a conception which of course is reflected in the judgments formed by the afflicted persons concerning their own malady, from the nucleus of truth which lies enfolded in it. Let me add that Beyschlag has even from his point of view been able to show that the story about the swine of Gergesa—a stumbling-block to so many—is not only an established part of the history, but one that manifestly fits in well with the rest of it.

In our author's treatment of Christ's teaching a reader discerns rather the fine perception of the homilist, skilled in the arrangement of material, than the scientific method of the historian. It is true that before we can pass upon this part of his work, we must come to an understanding as to just what is properly meant by the teaching of Jesus. What gross error as to this matter is chargeable, not only to the rationalism which saw in Jesus merely a preacher of "lucidity," but to the dogmatism which would extract an entire Christology and soteriology from Jesus's words, is well known. It is for this reason surprising that Beyschlag should insist that Jesus wished to "found a school;" that He desired to give his pupils not merely distinct cognitions, but rules for learning; that he developed his glad tidings into a formulated doctrine of the kingdom. To think thus is to enter upon a path leading straight away from the comprehension of that which was peculiar in Jesus's work. So far as I can see, the existing contrariety of view regarding this matter finds its chief ground in a difference of opinion as regards the relation which Christ's teaching bears to the Old Testament. I, for my part, must take the language of Matthew v. 17 in good earnest. I cannot bring myself to believe that "fulfill the law" means in this passage what it does not mean anywhere else in the New Testament, and what the equivalent words do not affirm in any language, namely, "make the law complete." If Jesus saw in the Old Testament a revelation which made the being and the will of God manifest, He did not have anything new to teach about the matter; He had only to teach men to understand this revelation. The new and

final revelation which He brought was not a new doctrine, but a revelation which was made as fact in his mission, his Person, his work, his passion, his clearly-predicted exaltation and second-coming, his establishment of the kingdom of God.

What we call "the doctrine of Jesus" is nothing more than the help He gave men in getting the full significance of all this. Beyschlag's position on this point may be characterized by pointing to his treatment of the parables, Mark ii. 21, 22. He has explained the first of these correctly; but he has defended the prevalent misinterpretation of the second. So, while in many instances he has rightly understood Jesus's attitude towards the Old Testament, in many others, again, he proceeds from a view of this attitude which does justice neither to the Old Testament, nor to the invariably conservative position of Jesus respecting the law. His conception of this position is always affected by an idea of Jesus as one who first began to free religion from all ceremonial, — the first who wished to establish an ethical religion consisting of love to God and man. To see this it is only necessary to read his description of the cleansing of the Temple, in which he makes Jesus burn with zeal against "substituting lifeless sacrifices for prayer, against the perversion of true worship into genuflections from which modesty of heart is absent." But our sources have not one syllable about this. They make Jesus rebuke the desecration of the Temple with words taken from Old Testament prophecy. According to the sources He is assured that the prophets, like Him, put the moral law above the ceremonial. Jesus never contended against the sacrifices and ceremonies required by the law, but only against the appendages hung upon them by the scribes and Pharisees. It is not of the present, it is expressly of the future that He speaks when He says that the worshiping of God in spirit and in truth implies the abandonment of the worship in Jerusalem.

Beyschlag has no hesitation in saying, as Jesus's enemies did, that He "did not keep the Sabbath;" that He thought himself warranted in absolving himself and others from observing it. But Jesus went no further in this direction than to teach men to keep the Sabbath according to the expressed will and obvious intention of Him who instituted it. Jesus never distinguished between the divine in the Old Testament and the human, "that which belongs to the realm of human and earthly incompleteness." To Him the whole Old Testament was in its present form a revelation of the holy will of God. Man's need respecting it was simply to under-

stand it, — understand it in this respect among others : that what God prescribed for his people and for the preparatory dispensation could not pass over with full authority into the completed kingdom of God.

What is true of the ancient revelation of God's will and of Christ's attitude towards it is also true of the disclosure made to Israel of God's being, and Christ's treatment of this disclosure. Beyschlag never clearly states that a revelation of God's fatherly love is found in the Old Testament, — that Israel is declared in it to be the Son of God. That this relation as given in the Hebrew Scriptures is restricted to the children of Israel, we grant; but this is not because the Old Testament conception of God is a defective one; it is a result of the course necessarily taken by God's historic plan of salvation, as it unfolded itself. This plan involved the selection of one people to be, *as a people*, the instrument for the realization of God's redemptive purpose. Jesus did not teach that God was the Father of all men. But after the full revelation of God's love in Him had caused the divine kingdom, composed not of Jews but of believers, to be set up on earth, God was revealed as the Father of all its members. In this kingdom, and here only, does the filial relation with God become a living reality for each person, as in the life which Jesus lived on earth. That here the fundamental duty of imitating God's love has a new significance is obvious. Yet the command to love God and love one's neighbor, on which this obligation, as a revelation of God's will, rests, was taken by Jesus from the Old Testament; and He said that a right knowledge of the Old Testament carried a knowledge of the paramount position which it gave to this commandment. Indeed, a scribe, who had not yet entered the kingdom of God, had, according to Jesus's own testimony, obtained this knowledge.

We now come to the consideration of Christ's Messiahship and his Messianic work, as He himself saw them, or, in other words, the attitude He took towards the declarations of Old Testament prophecy about Him. Beyschlag has undoubtedly gone far towards a right understanding of this subject. He sees that Christ wished to do more than to found a new religious community, that He desired to bring about in the life of his people the completion of such a kingdom of God as Old Testament prophecy contemplated, and to secure for that kingdom all the blessings, temporal and spiritual, promised to it in the Old Testament Scriptures. He sees, moreover, that the tragic unfolding of Jesus's career came



from the contrariety between the manner of reaching this goal hoped for by the people, and that which actually had to be adopted. But here, as elsewhere, Beyschlag has not freed himself from the modern passion for pointing out all kinds of development in our Lord as respects his comprehension of the kingdom of God, and of his own relation to it; a passion for dating the epochs of his activity from successive phases of his inner life, notwithstanding the fact that those epochs divide themselves with sole reference to the results, favorable or unfavorable, of his work. I do not recollect having found in his book a discussion of the question (so important for him who would take his view of this matter from the facts), What relation do the expressions "kingdom of God" and "kingdom of Heaven" bear to each other, and was that which alone occurs in the first Gospel actually employed by our Lord? Beyschlag has, however, admirably shown how inconceivable it is that Jesus should have had from the first no other aim besides that of dying for his people or for man; and that He must have had at first an altogether different kind of elevation in prospect from the being lifted up on the cross. He gradually came into the thought of his passion, and learned to see in it the secret purpose of his Father; this not because He made a mistake about the task given Him to accomplish, but because his people's attitude towards the message which He brought made it necessary that he should enter upon a new way of rescuing them. Beyschlag writes excellently concerning the development of this thought in Jesus's mind, although he makes Christ's hope of winning over the people through his sacrificial death (undoubtedly a leading element in the thought) overshadow unwarrantably the expiatory virtue which Jesus saw in it, — its power to secure the forgiveness of human sin brought out clearly in the words spoken in instituting the Lord's Supper. But Beyschlag's view of the relation of Jesus to Old Testament prophecy is right only up to a certain limit. The boundary is overstepped when he discusses the words which Jesus spoke concerning his own second coming.

The problem furnished by these words can only be solved by acknowledging that Jesus, in the days of his flesh, no more possessed divine omniscience than divine omnipotence; and that He professed to have a limited knowledge respecting the very matter with which these words deal. A necessary result of this limitation (which we may assume to have existed) was that his conceptions of his second coming (of which prophecy knew nothing, since Jesus's death and the interruption thus made in his earthly work

were not known to it, at least in the form in which they took place), and of the relation which his second coming bore to his earthly work, had to be shaped by the representations which prophecy had made of the coming redemption of the world. This being the case, Jesus must obviously have thought of his second coming as having direct connection with his earthly mission, and with the divine judgment upon recreant Israel. This is equivalent to assigning it to the age in which he lived. We are not to think that a weak mistake was committed; Christ, because He believed in Old Testament prophecy, had to believe that God's redemptive purpose would fulfill itself in just this way.<sup>1</sup>

Since Beyschlag will not admit this, he is obliged to take up all the old artifices by which the prophetic discourse of Jesus had been tortured, now by spiritualizing language, now by making critical *tour de force*, now by the strange and barren hypothesis of a "perspective view," now by an arbitrary commingling of the various utterances of Jesus respecting his second coming. Both in the first and the second part of his book is the attempt repeatedly made to solve the enigma, and finally the *Ur-Marcus* is brought in to serve as a foundation for his view. To this he has to ascribe the (plainly secondary) expression of Matthew xxvi. 64, although the parallel, Luke xxii. 69, does not contain a trace of the thought which Beyschlag is trying to get out of the passage. He has woven the prediction of the resurrection into his misinterpretation of that of the second coming, for he cannot free himself from the old notion that the Evangelists make Jesus give a too literal prediction of his resurrection; a notion which only rests on men's failure to see how far the disciples *could* have understood what Christ meant by his resurrection.

Closely related to these subjects is the question concerning the genesis of Jesus's Messianic consciousness, that is, his consciousness of his office. Beyschlag makes this first arise at the baptism. If one takes Mark as the only historical Gospel, this is conceivable, since, according to Mark, Christ at his baptism saw the Spirit descending upon Him, and heard a voice speaking to Him

<sup>1</sup> Beyschlag's view as to this point may be inferred from the following sentences from vol. I., p. 356. — Eds.

In the prophetic picture of "the second-coming in the clouds of heaven" mirrored in Jesus's mind, everything was included which lay beyond his passion, the whole glorious toil of his earthly life and his shameful death, extending from the resurrection to the consummation of his kingdom at the last day. . . . The gospel must fulfill its mission for all mankind, it must be preached throughout all the world for a witness to all people before the end of the present æon shall come.

from heaven. But Beyschlag's reception of the fourth Gospel as genuine obliges him to see in the vision at the baptism chiefly an experience of the Baptist. It is indeed gratifying to see that Beyschlag is free from the notion which dominated the school of Schleiermacher, that the significance of this whole event lies in the experience through which the Baptist then passed; for that which John then saw in vision, the descent of the Holy Ghost upon Jesus, must be regarded as an historical event. But Beyschlag believes this anointing of Jesus with the Spirit to have been in reality the entrance of his higher life into a new stage of development; a moment of loftier vision in which Jesus became conscious of his Messianic calling, and of all the gifts and powers enfolded in it and to be used in fulfilling it. Strangely enough, he denies that there was an extraordinary impartation of the Spirit then made to Jesus through which these gifts and powers became his. He says that these things could have had nothing to do with the baptismal water; as if the teaching of the Scriptures does not always connect the impartation of the Spirit with the rite of Christian baptism. By insisting that in this event a divine act of self-revelation and bestowment was united with the sudden dawning of Christ's self-knowledge, he attributes, after the fashion of an unbalanced supernaturalism, to a single unique moment what must have been the ripe fruit of a steadily-progressing inner development, if we have to do with something human and subject to psychological law. Nor, indeed, is it so hard to show how Jesus could have passed from his personal to his official consciousness of the divine fatherhood. It is because Beyschlag has lost the key to the meaning which the baptism had for Jesus that he is obliged to have recourse to the obscure and self-contradictory representation that Jesus came to the Jordan bearing in vicarious penitence the sins of the people, so going against the plain meaning of the prophetic passage referred to by the Baptist in John i. 29.

Beyschlag is also unwilling to think that the anticipation of the passion gradually grew up in our Lord's mind, — and this in spite of his having given such valuable help towards understanding Christ's way of viewing his death. He tries, as in the baptism, to find in the transfiguration an extraordinary experience in which the great thought came all at once to full maturity. Evidently the text knows nothing of this. It simply narrates an event, which was either a vision of the disciples, or a real transformation of Jesus into the glorified form belonging to his risen life, with a veritable appearance of Moses and Elias. Beyond

this it tells nothing. Beyschlag derives his view solely from a secondary feature from the pen of Luke, which at best expresses nothing beyond a conjecture of the disciples. Moreover, his theory obscures the only correct view of the occurrence, — that it was a supernatural vision of the disciples, — without coming to agreement with the view which seems implied in our Gospels, that it was a real occurrence in the life of Jesus; since he foists a different event into the place of that implied in the narrative.

Beyschlag's remarks about Christ's resurrection, which is discussed in both volumes of his book, are admirable; and his essay at constructing from the meagre fragments given by our tradition a consistent representation of the several appearances of the risen Christ deserves the highest praise. Yet one may differ from him with regard to several details; and may wish that some things had been more simply and clearly expressed. It is also proper to ask for the support which the sources give Beyschlag for assigning to the farewell words of Matthew xxviii. such high significance. One may question his reasons for saying that the appearance of Christ recorded in Acts i. was the occasion on which the rite of Christian baptism was instituted. And perhaps there is reason to regret that he has fully expressed his mind regarding Christ's ascension in the introductory section of his book, but has not given one who reads the narrative part separately the means of knowing his view as to the nature of this event. Yet these defects would not obscure the merits of our author's performance, even if we did not know how boldly and successfully he has defended in his other works the resurrection of Christ as the fact on which our salvation is based. Proceeding from a truly Scriptural conception of this event, he has fully parted company with the view, hitherto prevalent even in believing circles, that our Lord took up again his earthly life, and that, therefore, He did not until the ascension enter upon the glorified and heavenly state. Not less sharply does Beyschlag differ from those who try to reconcile the two conceptions by propounding a cloudy and self-contradictory view of their own. But he breaks with the sources in closing his discussion of Christ's reappearances with the dilemma that either the glorified Redeemer had the power to reveal at pleasure to his disciples his now hidden life in order to convince them of his personal identity and real corporeity, or that He raised them at certain elect moments above the sensuous world, and allowed them to look with unsealed spiritual vision into a kingdom usually veiled from mortal eyes. Our Gospels know

only the former view. It is indeed strange that Beyschlag should have chosen this place above all others for applying his favorite idea of "the law running through the history of revelation, of the mutual conditioning and reciprocity of objective condescension and subjective elevation."

Beyschlag's Christological views have become well known through his earlier works. I for one do not regard them as Scriptural. But their unscripturalness only becomes fully evident when they are compared with the developed doctrine of Christ's personal preëxistence taught by the apostles. John gives this doctrine in the prologue of his Gospel. It also sometimes finds formulated expression in Christ's discourses as reported by him; but it is probable that the apostle, writing after Christ had become transfigured in his heart through the Holy Ghost dwelling there, has put his ripest conceptions of his Lord into these discourses. For that Jesus cannot have spoken to his people, to his enemies, or even to his disciples of his eternal preëxistent life with God, as if it were a matter familiar to them, or, indeed, one which they could comprehend, is to a historical observer unquestionable. Indeed, it is one of the most difficult of problems, whether a full consciousness of a heavenly origin is psychologically compatible with that fully human consciousness which Jesus must have had in the days of his flesh, and if so, whether the fact of such consciousness is capable of demonstration. Inasmuch as we find in John's Gospel, in addition to the formulated expressions above spoken of, enigmatical hints of a preëxistence, not only such as may be thought to have been added as explanations of what Christ said, but such as could not be removed without breaking up the whole context of the discourses and sayings, it is most probable that such suggestions were contained in the discourses which Jesus delivered, and that these justified John in giving a precise expression to that consciousness of divinity which others as well as he saw to lie in the background of Christ's thought of himself.

Beyschlag, who does not find Christ's personal preëxistence taught in John's writings, of course disputes this. He has brought forward here his familiar misinterpretations of the discourses of Christ involved in the discussion, only he cannot now, as formerly, make these refer to the miraculous conception, since he has formed the opinion that there was no such event. I believe that, leaving these discourses out of the account, an analysis of Christ's consciousness, both as man and as Messiah, of divine Sonship; an inquiry into the reason of his choice of the self-designation, "Son

of Man," sure to awaken recollection of Daniel vii. 13, and particularly a weighing of his predictions respecting his elevation to heaven and return in divine glory, will always lead back to the belief that a lurking sense (*Ahnung*) of his divine being must have been ever with Him, whatever form it may have taken. As regards the predictions just spoken of, the negative critics agree in finding the consciousness of divinity in them; but they either declare that they were not spoken by Jesus, or, admitting their genuineness, charge Him with an audacity which knows no limits. Beyschlag, who holds them to be genuine, disputes this natural inference, but his arguments do not even approach the heart of the matter.

I cannot think, without presumption, that these remarks about Beyschlag's book will give my readers an adequate conception of it, although, so far as I am aware, they touch upon everything distinctive in its conclusions. The writer has evidently desired scope for his peculiar gift as a writer, and has been influenced by this wish in separating his preliminary inquiries from the narrative. In employing his powers on such a theme, the talented pulpit-orator, the keen and skillful apologete, the well-armed publicist, the biographer justly crowned with literary fame might have been confidently expected to do admirable work. And parts of the book do show rare skill in composition, great beauty of thought, and high power of impression. There are, it must be added, inferior passages, in which the clearness of the picture drawn suffers from the expansion of the material, from a too copious diction, or from the very pathos and the pictorial quality of the narrative.

Indeed I could not but ask, all through the book, whether the subject comports with the glitter of the representation? The striving for vividness impairs the reserve which is the highest beauty of a style used in setting forth sacred things. To be sure, the historian should not content himself with a dry enumeration of assured results of inquiry; he should work over these results into a living whole, presenting his hero's life as one comprehensive fact, and setting it before its historical background. Though a chronicle or a learned treatise may be composed without using the imagination, a history cannot. But the historian must not gain vividness by mingling the demonstrable results of historical inquiry with suppositions, and so compromising the former. To mark out a limit up to which he can seek picturesqueness without thus sacrificing truth is very difficult. Yet he must make the boundary and carefully keep within it. I doubt whether Beyschlag has always kept his imagination inside the historical limit.



To say nothing of his three introductory chapters, which treat respectively of "The Old World," "The Chosen People," and the "Age of Herod," and which, captivating as their narrative is, contain, in my judgment, much which is hardly necessary to a comprehension of the life of Jesus, the two sections entitled respectively "The Youth of Jesus" and "Ripening in Secret" contain many descriptions of nature and of contemporaneous life which have little to do with their subjects, and moreover draw from Christ's more pictorial discourses inferences hardly to be received as valid. In many of the subsequent sections the tone of the apologete mingles too noticeably with that of the biographer. It may be claimed that the nature of the subject justifies this, since no one can maintain an attitude of cool objectivity before the life of Jesus; and that, besides, the biographer of our Lord must aim to remove all obstacles to faith out of his readers' way, in order to foster the conviction that the picture which he is drawing is the true one, — and to win love for Him whose whole life was Love. But if the historian has really done his work, if he has demonstrated the credibility of his sources, and drawn out of them by scientific methods all that he presents, the apologetic tone is not needed. That which is demonstrable on historical grounds does not need defense as intrinsically probable, or even possible. Here our author reaps retribution for separating his historical discussion from his narrative.

But, however this may be, we are in full sympathy with Beyschlag's happiness in dedicating to the "attached pupils of fifty semesters" this rich product of his "Study of the Life of our Lord." We are convinced that a much larger circle of readers than that composed by the writer's pupils will gather around the book; and that notwithstanding the defects which we have had to point out, it will be to many a guide to Him who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life.

*B. Weiss.*

BERLIN, PRUSSIA.

## EDITORIAL.

## CHRISTIANITY AND ITS MODERN COMPETITORS.

CHRISTIANITY has been most frequently and most assiduously discussed on the side of thought. Its defenses have usually been made against attacks on its truth. It has been occupied in meeting the objections of skepticism and the inquiries of doubt. Criticism has been engaged in establishing the genuineness and truthfulness of the Biblical history, theology in demonstrating the intrinsic reasonableness of Christianity and its harmony with all other knowledge. The function of Christian apologetics is understood to be the vindication of the gospel as a system of truth against all objections drawn from history, science, and philosophy. The value of this work cannot be overestimated. The need of it will continue. The best service of dialectical acumen, and of robust, massive reasoning in behalf of the truth is still urgently required, and in this service we expect, as opportunity offers, to bear our part.

But there is another side on which Christianity is threatened, and on which it is important that strength should be developed. It is the side of competition. Besides oppositions to Christianity which are theoretical, there are competitions which are influential in practical life. The gospel seems to some to be losing power, and with others actually is losing power, because it does not appear to meet certain needs, or because it is claimed that those needs are satisfied without recourse to the gospel. There are distinct systems of individual ethics and well-defined theories of social progress which are in the field professing to regulate the conduct of life, and even to satisfy the cravings of the heart. Some have adopted one or another of these systems as a working theory, and have persuaded themselves that the motives and sanctions of religion are superfluous, or even obstructive. Others, while maintaining some measure of compliance with accustomed forms of worship, are aware that their controlling aims are derived from other than Christian sources, and that their motives, while not prevalently selfish, are moral and philanthropic, rather than religious. And others, who have made no analysis of their own motives nor of tendencies in society, have come insensibly under the control of customs which are derived from secular standards, utilitarian ethics, or merely humanitarian sentiments. It is no new thing, indeed, that theories of life lower than those of the gospel have been adopted. Worldliness, often in attractive forms, has, from the first, usurped the place of Christian love. And always it has been the task of the church to expose the shallowness and the wrongfulness of an irreligious life. But it is characteristic of these same theories to-day that they are grounded in a comprehensive philosophy of individual and social life. They would find sanctions in the fundamental facts of human nature, and in the results of a slow moral evolution in which the control of religious sanctions has been but a temporary and superstitious stage.

The widespread interest in ethical science which has found expression within a few years in several profound treatises on ethics is an illustration of the tendencies we are describing. The first article of this number, entitled "A Decade of Ethics," is a graphic description of the rapid progress recently made in ethical studies. The revival of such studies signifies more than speculative inquiry. It means the increasing and practical adoption of these theories of morals. It means the application to individual and social life of those principles of development which have become so fascinating in respect to the material universe and to physical life. Christianity has to meet those tendencies and philosophies of life, not so much as aggressive opponents endeavoring to overthrow, but rather as competitors silently or openly attempting to supersede the gospel.

It is our purpose to consider in future articles those theories of personal and social life and of our coming civilization which we have mentioned. We have in view not only well-known problems which baffle or perplex all who confront them, such as problems of socialism, and the like, and which we may also consider, but especially certain accepted and influential theories of life and society which are grounded in half truths, plausible and inadequate, dangerous because inadequate.

We have attempted in earlier volumes of this "Review" to unfold a theology which we believe to be consonant with the genius of Christianity, and fitted to resolve some difficulties which arise on the side of thought. This course was in pursuance of a maxim which, in an adapted form, we took for a motto, namely, to *think* according to Christianity. The progress we traced is the progress of doctrine in a connected system of truth. Practical applications were left chiefly to inference. One such application was found in relation to that portion of the race which is outside Christendom. Debate between our critics and ourselves swirled off in that direction, and revolved there, somewhat to the neglect of the deeper current of our whole thought. We should have been better pleased to come sooner to the conditions and tendencies of actual life as related to the gospel. We propose to enter that field now. The threatened alienation of practical modern life from religion, and the real correspondence of Christianity to existing needs bring us back to the original form of the maxim which we adapted to the study of doctrine, so that now, while we inquire concerning individual and social life in their largest issues, we adopt as our motto the saying of the ancient leader, in its original form: "Let us learn to *live* according to Christianity." The higher life, in his view, uplifts the lower to its own level, and is not degraded to the level of the lower, nor absorbed into it, "for Christianity did not believe into Judaism, but Judaism into Christianity." Christian conduct cannot be resolved into utilitarian ethics or a mere tendency of natural progress, but it draws up all that is real in the half truth of partial theories to its legitimate place within the law of Christian love. It has been said of Origen that he attempted too much; that he belonged to that enterprising but adventurous class of theologians who endeavor to show that the scat-

tered atoms of truth in all heresies and errors are to be found in greater fullness in the gospel, and that the doctrinal system of the church is the solvent for all the doubts, difficulties, and errors of heresy itself; that, as a consequence, both heretics and orthodox claimed him. However that may have been with Origen in unfolding the doctrines of the Trinity and the Person of Christ, and however it may have been with others who have toiled to find on the side of thought the profound harmony of all truth, it surely is not a mistake to seek in defective theories of the life of our own period those inner strivings which can be satisfied only in the Christian man and the Christian society. This, at least, will be our attempt: to find an interpretation of the gospel which is adequate to resolve pressing problems, and to present those sufficient standards of private, social, and public life which alone can satisfy the present need.

One test of a given conception of Christianity is its fitness to develop character and to direct civilization under new conditions of knowledge and opportunity. We are convinced that theories which come into competition with Christianity have made some way because distorted or narrow conceptions of the gospel have been offered in place of the gospel itself. Unchristian and nonchristian theories of progress are laying upon us the task of substituting complete for inadequate conceptions of Christianity. At this point the universality of the gospel will find fresh illustration. Its character of universality and absoluteness is more than numerical, as if it were only meant that it is coextensive with the race in some external fashion, or that there is no hope of ultimate salvation apart from the gospel. The application to all men is intensive as well as extensive. Salvation is of the present world. It is the purifying of life in all relations. It is a renewed and advancing society. It is the kingdom of God on earth. Christianity does not offer itself as one theory among others for society and for character. Jesus is not one of the gods in a pantheon. The gospel is as exclusive in respect of man's relation to his fellow-men as in respect of man's relation to his God. It is the only true ethics as well as the only true faith. There is no man who can guide his life to its true issues, there is no society which can be healthy and symmetrical, there is no civilization which can be permanent, except on the Christian basis. But when the universal adaptedness of the gospel to all conditions of progress is realized, and when the indispensableness of the Christian aim and motive to the real salvation of every man is realized, then we are taught afresh concerning the universality and absoluteness of the gospel, and then we also learn that whatever is true in the half truths of non-Christian ethics and theories of social development may be absorbed in the complete truth of the living gospel.

The Convalescence of Faith is the singular title under which Mr. W. H. Mallock, in a magazine article, traces the slow recovery of faith from the influence of physical and, more recently, of moral science. It is true that in relation to the physical sciences and the materialism which they encouraged the stages of enfeeblement and recovery on the part of faith

are clearly marked. Alarm from that source is practically dispelled. But egoistic and utilitarian theories of moral science have not yet become popularized as theories of physical science have been. They are still spreading into common knowledge and acceptance. And while some individuals may have thought their way out to the higher standards of the gospel, the issue after all is but little more than fairly joined. The ultimate triumphs of Christianity are not doubtful. Also, we may be encouraged in view of the repeated recoveries of faith after oppositions and competitions have weakened it. But the recovery followed, because thought and effort were directed to new tendencies and theories as they arose, and not merely because faith had enough vitality to survive, without effort, the miasmas of unbelief and the contagions of worldliness. Also, the ultimate triumph may be delayed. And, at all events, the final victory is not of necessity the salvation of each and every generation, much less of each and every individual, from error and unrighteousness. The task is laid upon every generation to translate the eternal truth of the gospel into its own thought, and to appropriate the righteousness of the gospel into its own palpitating life. The manna which was sweet yesterday is stale to-day. The church for its thought and life must ever pray, Give us this day our daily bread.

The necessity of adjusting Christianity to life is most keenly felt where population is rapidly increasing and constantly changing. This may be the real meaning of that impatience of theological speculation which is often manifested by the ministers and churches of our Western States. When they declare that the work of preaching and evangelizing is too pressing to allow time for speculation, they reflect the demand of life about them for a living gospel. They are impatient of speculations which are remote from actual tendencies and needs. They feel that Christian forces must become influential while society is in the formative stage in order that there may be the Christian home, Christian education, the Christian State; that the gospel needs propulsion on the side of life rather than on the side of thought. But this impatience becomes absurd if it signifies that profound and patient thought, even to the point of readjusting traditional beliefs, is superfluous for Christian disciples, or that it is a hindrance to the energetic advance of the church. The very pressure of surging life in new and ever-shifting relations creates necessity for the deepest thought, that the very truth and power of the gospel, in the clearest interpretations of it, may be put in place of shallow or confused interpretations. Busy activity, impetuous zeal, impassioned exhortation, are of no avail unless they are informed and impelled by that clear truth which satisfies the thinking and wins the conviction of men as it finds them in their individual and related life. If it is true, as we are often told, that in the West infidelity is more common and blatant, and that erroneous theories of society are more prevalent than in the East; if it is true, as we are also told, that a Western preacher must face

hearers who are familiar with scientific treatises and the latest phases of skeptical thought, surely that is an insufficient theory of the task of the church and pulpit which emphasizes mere activity at the expense of thorough thinking. A bustling church may have but little power. Martha needed to sit with her sister at Jesus's feet and hear his words. On whatever summit, even that of speculative inquiry, fresh light is gained and a more comprehensive view of the gospel discovered, there the Christian preacher should stand, in order that he may go down again with face aglow from the light of the heavenly vision and utter the truth, which has become luminous and real to himself, to his deceived and sinning fellow-men. Christianity must be true for thought that it may be influential for life. The conception of truth must be broad enough to give promise to all the varied needs of men for the life which now is as well as for that which is to come.

We have now indicated in general the field of inquiry we shall enter, and must leave further explanation to the discussion of the several topics which will be considered.

#### THE RESULT AT DES MOINES.

We emphasize the words "*at Des Moines*," for it is not our purpose now to attempt any forecast of future results, however near at hand or inevitable we may suppose them to be. What was done by the American Board at Des Moines respecting candidates or missionaries who cannot accept, as of universal application, the dogma of the decisive nature of this life? — this is the question we will attempt to answer.

The subject was not directly or formally introduced by the management. The report of the Prudential Committee, read by the Home Secretary, studiously avoided anything more explicit than a statement that the traditional and established method of dealing with candidates "has been faithfully followed during the past year." The committee to whom this report was referred was unable thus to isolate itself from the common thought and speech. It excluded, indeed, from its purview, all individual cases, and its recommendations were couched in terms so elastic that nobody could fail to accept them, unless he were of opinion that the issue is grave enough to require a higher use of language than one which makes it a concealment of thoughts. Still it was evident enough that the committee recognized other facts than appeared in the document submitted to them for approval. Appointed on Tuesday evening, they were unable to report until Thursday forenoon. According to the programme they were to be heard from on Wednesday afternoon. So general and absorbing was the interest in their action that probably for the first time in the Board's history a full house was dismissed an hour before the time for adjournment because no one cared to speak. In the report came a suggestion (utterly causeless and surprising, if the Prudential Committee's statement alone was under consideration) of a reference



of theological questions "to a properly constituted vicinage council," and the chairman followed this up by adding that the committee had been "heedful of all the thought and sentiment that is afloat and filling the air all around us." When, in addition to all this, one member of the committee, a pastor known and beloved in the churches, explained that he could assent to the report only on the understanding that it expressed no judgment as to the action of the Prudential Committee "in individual and recent cases," and pointed out that its language was liable to be interpreted otherwise, it was evident that the vexed question was before the Board.

It is unnecessary to attempt to review the protracted debate which followed. We pause for a moment to cite a testimony to its spirit from a secular journal, published at Des Moines, the "Iowa State Register:" —

"Yesterday was the important day of the session of the American Board, as it brought up for discussion and practical settlement the question which has so gravely threatened the harmony of the church. It had about it all the dignity and greatness of a day that is to live in history. The discussion was one worthy, in intellectual strength and moral courage and courtesy, of any council or militant or political body in the world. . . . Agitation and discussion among such men can only result in helping any church or ennobling any cause. . . . It was a noble and very beautiful example of brotherly love such as men are seldom given to show and people are seldom given to see. The outside world may see, in a debate so serious and so exciting, in fact, and yet so conducted that every speech had in it the beauty and supplication of a prayer, how Christian brethren may disagree in conscience and yet not in the least separate in love and good-will. Even unbelievers are made, unconsciously and unwillingly, to see and feel the divine power in Christian men which enables them to join in such a discussion as that of yesterday."

In giving his reasons for a qualified assent to the committee's report Dr. Vose very happily introduced a declaration adopted by the Board at Salem, Mass., in 1871. It reads as follows: —

"Neither this Board nor the Prudential Committee are in any wise a theological court to settle doctrinal points of belief, but a body instituted by the churches to make known the gospel of Christ among the heathen nations and those who sit in darkness, though nominally Christian, and establish churches among them, maintaining *that* faith and that only which is universally received by those Christian bodies whose agents they are and who furnish the funds which they administer."

This declaration dominated the debate, and finally determined its result. Its influence, however, was not for some hours clearly ascendant. A motion to refer the whole subject to a committee of ten, of which the President of the Board, Dr. Mark Hopkins, should be a member, was voted down. Dr. Quint's statement that the committee's second resolution sanctioned the course of the Prudential Committee in refusing to send abroad missionaries who accepted the dogma of future probation was met by a counter-interpretation. Dr. Noble, of Chicago, therefore,

offered the following preamble and resolution, designed to remove all ambiguity: —

"Whereas, From remarks made on this platform it seems difficult if not impossible to draw a general statement in terms so clear and strong as to cover the case; therefore

"Resolved, That this Board distinctly and emphatically disavows its belief in what is called the doctrine of future probation, and it hereby instructs its Prudential Committee to exercise great care in selecting missionaries for the foreign field."

The rather barren and impotent conclusion of this resolution impressed the mind of Dr. Withrow, and he suggested that the Board should instruct the Prudential Committee that any candidate who cherishes the obnoxious dogma "is thereby disqualified." This explicitness did not meet with a favorable reception. The morning session was extended an hour beyond the usual time of adjournment, and ended leaving a clear disclosure of the purpose of a considerable number of the voting members present to commit the Board to a doctrinal resolution antagonistic to probation after death. "We have had enough of it," said Dr. Noble.

During the recess, and the season of eucharistic communion which followed, wiser counsels gained ascendancy. Ex-President Chapin "stated that he felt embarrassed in passing upon a question of theological import in the face of the resolution of 1871, and moved as a substitute for that of Dr. Noble the following: —

"The Board is constrained to look with great apprehension upon certain tendencies of the doctrine of a probation after death, which has been recently broached and diligently propagated, that seemed divisive and perverse, and dangerous to the churches at home and abroad.

"In view of those tendencies they do heartily approve of the action of the Prudential Committee in carefully guarding the Board from any committal to the approval of that doctrine, and advise a continuance of that caution in time to come."

Dr. Chapin's substitute was accepted by Dr. Noble, and after a long discussion was adopted. The voting was *viva voce*, but we presume no one will claim that the majority was large. Before this vote was taken the Vice-President of the Board, Hon. E. W. Blatchford, of Chicago, Illinois, stated that at the proper time he should present a resolution "that some of us think may meet the point which has been made in regard to the methods of deciding on the fitness of missionary candidates in respect to doctrinal soundness." It was also announced that President Hopkins desired to speak on this resolution. Previous allusion had been made to the fact that a letter had been received from the President of Yale College. Mr. Blatchford's resolution was not then read, but probably no corporate member present was ignorant of its general tenor, or of the positions likely to be taken by Dr. Hopkins and President Dwight. In the beginning of the debate President Bartlett had said, from the committee on the paper read by the Home Secretary: —

"It has been suggested that the Prudential Committee might be relieved of the difficult and delicate duty of pronouncing upon the theological fitness of the candidates, by some carefully devised method of referring the question to a properly constituted vicinage council. The committee mention this as a suggestion, on which they are not called and do not deem themselves competent, to decide."

He added, in remarks which followed the reading of the committee's report:—

"We have endeavored to draw up such a report as, while distinct in its utterance, should be so heedful of all the thought and sentiment that is afloat and filling the air all around us that we should not seem absolutely to have ignored this prevalent sentiment while yet indicating our own view. And therefore, I may say in parenthesis, we have incorporated in a side remark a suggestion in which the chairman really has no confidence himself, and in which perhaps others will agree with him; but we deemed that it was proper to recognize a feeling which many in high position and influence already entertain."

Dr. Vose, a member of the committee, in an address immediately following President Bartlett's, said:—

"I think the committee feel strongly their desire to present this suggestion, and some of them have much preferred a resolution to this effect which will come better from some other quarter. [Applause.] I regard this as so important, so corrective of the danger that in any way the decision of theological soundness should be taken out of the hands of the churches, that I most heartily join in this part of the report and emphasize it with all the power of which I am capable."

Dr. Vose characterized this "suggestion" as "really the gist and kernel of the whole thing," "the chief thing of value," etc.

The vote on Dr. Chapin's resolution (which was explained by the mover not to be a theological resolution, and was expressly accepted as thus interpreted by the presiding officer) was taken with the expectation that another resolution would be added.

Immediately upon its passage Mr. Blatchford brought forward the expected resolution. In its exact form, it was probably known to but few besides the mover. But the expectation of something of the sort had been present from the beginning of the debate. It was supported in powerful speeches from Secretary Clark and Dr. Hopkins, as well as by the great personal influence of the mover. President Dwight's letter was coincident in aim. The author and mover of the non-doctrinal resolution about "certain tendencies," ex-President Chapin, supported it in these words:—

"I wish to express my own satisfaction with that, as coming after the resolution which has just been adopted; and I hope that it will put the matter in such a way as to soften whatever decision we have come to, and help clear up the matter. All that the resolutions require is caution on the part of the Prudential Committee, precisely such as is involved here; and if we can relieve the Committee from a certain delicate responsibility, I think it is very desirable that we should do it."

In the same spirit, Rev. Dr. Quint, in seconding Mr. Blatchford's resolution, said : —

"I rise merely not to add anything to what the President [Dr. Hopkins] has so eloquently said, but I do hope the resolution offered by Mr. Blatchford will be at once adopted unanimously in the spirit of harmony and concession." [Applause.]

And ex-President Magoun remarked : —

"As one member of the Board I should not object to the Prudential Committee trying a few experiments of this sort."

Mr. Blatchford's resolution passed unanimously, a few members present, we believe, not voting. We print it in its connection with the entire result, beginning with the resolutions introduced by the committee : —

"1. *Resolved*, That we recognize with profound gratitude the continued marks of favor with which our Lord and Master regards this great work of preaching the gospel to all nations.

"2. *Resolved*, That the Board recognizes and approves the principle upon which the Prudential Committee has continued to act in regard to appointments for missionary service, in strictly conforming to the well understood and permanent basis of doctrinal faith upon which the missions of the Board have been steadily conducted, and to which, in the exercise of its sacred trust, the Committee had no option but to conform.

"The Board is constrained to look with great apprehension upon certain tendencies of the doctrine of a probation after death, which has been recently broached and diligently propagated, that seemed divisive and perverse, and dangerous to the churches at home and abroad. In view of those tendencies they do heartily approve of the action of the Prudential Committee in carefully guarding the Board from any committal to the approval of that doctrine, and advise a continuance of that caution in time to come.

"The Board recommends to the Prudential Committee to consider in difficult cases, turning upon doctrinal views of candidates for missionary service, the expediency of calling a council of the churches, to be constituted in some manner which may be determined by the good judgment of the Committee, to pass upon the theological soundness of the candidate, and the Committee is instructed to report on this matter to the Board at the next annual meeting."

It will be observed from this transcript of the record that the Board has not passed a theological resolution condemning the so-called doctrine of future probation, although it has expressed apprehension as to certain tendencies which seem to be pernicious, — tendencies which its advocates believe arise from misapprehension, and which they would as warmly oppose as its assailants. Still less has the Board affirmed the dogma which the Home Secretary has been pressing upon candidates. The advocates of his policy were challenged to put his language into their vote, to affirm unmistakably "the decisive nature" of this life for every human being. No influential attempt was made to secure such explicitness. The extreme limit of what was attempted was a repudiation of something "called the doctrine of future probation," and then the mover of this resolution, after time had been gained for reflection, accepted a substitute expressing apprehension respecting "certain tenden-

cies" of this doctrine which "seemed" to be harmful; and then the harshness of this mitigated formula was smoothed by opening the way for the whole matter to be dealt with by the only proper authority, namely, the churches represented in Ecclesiastical Councils.

The subject is thus practically referred back to the Prudential Committee, with a cautionary resolution and with a recommendation of a particular and Congregational method of relief. The practical question is still ascendant: Will the Committee return Mr. Hume? Will it reject all candidates who decline to affirm Dr. Alden's dogma?

The intention of the mover of the resolution respecting councils, and, we believe, of the Board, was to recommend a resort the present year to this method of relief. A report will be expected a year hence on something effected and tried. The report of the Business Committee upon the memorial from the United Church in New Haven respecting the return of Rev. Mr. Hume points emphatically in the same direction. One thing is settled. Neither the Board nor the Congregational denomination will be content to leave the determination of the theological soundness of candidates for missionary appointment, or of missionaries in service, unrestrictedly to the Prudential Committee.

Since the foregoing comment was in type some indications have appeared of an attempt to put a different construction from the one we have given upon the action at Des Moines. The removal of Professor Smyth from the Prudential Committee is construed as equivalent to the adoption by the Board of Dr. Noble's doctrinal resolution, which was withdrawn, and even to the instruction of the Committee which was proposed by Dr. Withrow, but received no favor.

We do not so understand either the action which was taken or the spirit which finally prevailed. We hope, in the interest of the Board, and of foreign missions, that, as respects Mr. Hume, the Prudential Committee will follow the counsel of the Business Committee, which was enthusiastically approved by the Board, and that it will not slight the suggestion for other cases of a resort to the proper ecclesiastical authority. We believe that the interpretation and advice given by those who are opposing such a method of relief is not merely in tendency but essentially "divisive and perverse, and dangerous to the churches at home and abroad." But we see no occasion to discuss this matter further now, and we trust that none will arise in the future.

#### A MISLEADING QUOTATION.

THE report of the Prudential Committee prepared by the Home Secretary, and read by him at Des Moines, contains the following sentences:—

"This method of procedure is in accordance with the principle commended to the Board thirty-seven years ago in the following emphatic words: 'The Board does not assume to decide upon the fitness of an individual to be a min-

ister of the gospel : but it is their duty to decide, and that intelligently, on his original and continued fitness to be sustained by the funds committed to their disposal as a missionary to the heathen. . . . The contributors to the funds for Foreign Missions demand more evidence of faithfulness in the preaching of the gospel than can possibly be in possession even of the permanent ecclesiastical bodies scattered over our country, and they will hold the Prudential Committee and the Board responsible for seeing that no part of their contributions go for the propagation of error, either in doctrine or in practice.'

"This general method, in accordance with this sound principle, — a method which with varied emphasis as to particular doctrines at particular times has been pursued during the entire history of the Board, and which has proved successful for the end proposed, — has been faithfully followed during the past year, this service being regarded by the executive officers and the Prudential Committee as one of their most serious, sometimes delicate and difficult, trusts."

The form of the quotation here introduced, and perhaps the emphasis laid upon it, appear to have misled at least a large majority of the committee appointed at Des Moines to report on the Home Secretary's paper. They reported through their chairman, President Bartlett : —

"An important and prominent feature of the report [the one read by Secretary Alden] is its distinct presentation of the respective functions and obligations of the officers of the Board, as handed down by the settled usage of the past, and defined by the constitution and action of the Board itself. . . . It also appears very distinctly and unmistakably that in the exercise of this great care and caution the officers have been acting under the express direction of the Board itself, as given in the year 1849, in the following language : 'The Board does not assume,' etc., —

repeating the entire quotation introduced by the Home Secretary.

Great prominence was thus given to this quotation at the opening of the debate at Des Moines. The Prudential Committee were represented as having acted under an instruction from the Board express and mandatory.

The force of this claim was much weakened, as respects an application of the principle affirmed to recent individual cases, by the prompt introduction of the declaration adopted by the Board in 1871. Still, the previous alleged action of the Board was unchallenged, and the applause which greeted its announcement showed that it was deemed by many to be very significant and important. There were others not a few who attached no such importance to precedent. They shared the opinion expressed by the President of the Board, Dr. Mark Hopkins, when he said : —

"Now, while I agree that the method which has been adopted by this Board in determining the theological fitness of its candidates has worked well, — and I honor the Secretaries in having guarded as they have our missions from the entrance of incapable men, and that guardianship is to be maintained, — yet the method by which this Prudential Committee is made also a theological committee, while it did work well for a time while the conditions were favorable, has not worked so well since the conditions were changed. It seems to me



that those conditions are changed, and that the method has fallen into a place somewhat like that in which the ship fell that carried the Apostle Paul. That ship got into a place where two seas met, and the only thing to be done with it was to run it aground. Now, it seems to me that the method — not the Committee, but the method — has come into a place where two seas meet, and it comes to be a serious question whether it can be continued wisely by the Board."

We believe this to be the common-sense view of the present situation, and that the Board by its recommendation of relief through ecclesiastical councils so understands the matter. Still it may be a help to some to know that President Bartlett was mistaken when he cited the language used in 1849 as a direction of the Board. The Board did not then give — no proof has yet been adduced that it has since given — any such instruction to the Prudential Committee. The sentences quoted are taken from a document which was not adopted by the Board, and which itself recommended, in words open to the eye as one reads those cited by the Secretary and by President Bartlett, that the Board should not adopt it, lest by such a vote "*the Committee might hereafter experience embarrassment, . . . should farther experience demand a change in any of the principles, opinions, and usages set forth in the report.*" (Italics ours.)

The quotation in question is misleading in other respects. We judge that its language respecting "more evidence of faithfulness" is understood to imply that the Board asserted the necessity of a higher standard of orthodoxy as requisite for the foreign missionary than for the home, or for pastors. Nothing of the sort was in the mind of the writers. Moreover, the application of these words to present individual cases, the use of them to justify keeping from the field men whom the churches approve and fellowship as ministers of the gospel, is an utter abuse of the report from which the Secretary drew his quotation. The sentence omitted by him, and marked by him as omitted, reads thus:—

"Nor is there more practical difficulty in adjusting his missionary, ministerial, and church relations in foreign missions, than there is in home missions; and no more in respect to those Congregational missionaries, whose ordaining councils ceased to exist immediately after their induction into the ministerial office, than in respect to missionaries connected with presbyteries or classes in their native land."

And the quotation stops nearly half through a sentence, the last part of which reads, —

"Nor will they [the Prudential Committee] have any serious doubt, in case radical or serious mistakes are committed or abuses occur in the discharge of this trust, that the fact will soon be known and the evil be in some way corrected."

Other sentences of the report are these:—

"The point specially insisted on is this,—that ministers of the gospel lose none of their ecclesiastical standing and liberty by engaging in the work of foreign missions. No plea for abridging their ecclesiastical liberties can be founded on the fact of their support coming from the churches at home; . . .

nor do missionaries become, in any servile sense, the servants of those who support them; they are not their hired servants, but their fellow-servants. . . .

"So far as the Committee can rely on the experience of more than thirty years, they regard it as not less safe to concede ecclesiastical liberty to missionaries, than to pastors. And how eminently safe it has been at home, the last two centuries can testify. . . .

"Where the opinions of the great body of its patrons are divided in regard to the *facts* of Scripture, the Board may not undertake to decide positively as to the nature of those facts, with a view to binding the conduct of its missionaries. Such a fact, at present, is the admission of slaveholders into the apostolical churches. . . .

"But while the Board may require that the missionaries under its care instruct all classes of men after the manner of the apostles, it is not at liberty to restrict the missionaries to the identical instructions given by the Apostles; because there is no good reason to suppose that all the instructions are recorded in the New Testament, which the Apostles were accustomed to give. Missionaries may go farther, if their convictions of duty require it, and may apply what they regard as the obvious and generally conceded principles of the gospel to the case. They have the same liberty in their preaching, with ministers of the gospel elsewhere. . . .

"Many things which, at first, it might seem desirable for the Board to do, are found, on a nearer view, to lie entirely beyond its jurisdiction; so that to attempt them would be useless, nay, a ruinous usurpation. Nor is the Board at liberty to withdraw its confidence from missionaries, because of such differences of opinion among them as are generally found and freely tolerated in presbyteries, councils, associations, and other bodies here at home. . . .

"The Board is to be viewed as an AGENCY, acting for such as choose to employ it. It does not profess to be, and it is not, a distinct power with separate interests from the churches. . . .

"The Board is responsible *directly*, in the manner which has been described, for the *teaching of the missionaries*. It cannot guaranty, however, an entire uniformity in their teaching. That diversity in mental habits, opinions, preaching, and social intercourse, which exists without rebuke among ministers of the same denomination at home, must be expected and tolerated among missionaries."

We do not question that this report claims that the missionary is responsible to the Committee, as well as to the proper ecclesiastical authority. This claim, however, is asserted guardedly and tentatively. The constant effort is to adjust the rights of the Board to the rights of councils, or other ecclesiastical bodies, and to the rights of the missionary as an ordained minister of the gospel. We read:—

"It should be stated that the missionary has his safeguards as well as the pastor. . . . As it is, the missionary has the right of appeal from the Prudential Committee to the large body of ministers and laymen composing the Board."

Our space forbids further citations from this report, save one passage, whose words are specially noteworthy and timely:—

. . . "This responsibility [the missionary's] can never be perfectly enforced except by guarding the religious liberties of missionaries with the

most scrupulous care. Men must be free, and must feel that they are free, in order to rise to the full capacity and dignity of moral agents, and be subjected to the full control of law, reason, and the moral sense. And of all gospel ministers, the missionary among the heathen most needs to have his mind and spirit erect, and to feel that all good men are his brethren. This is necessary to the unity, peace, order, and efficiency of every mission. The law of liberty is an all-pervading law in Christ's kingdom."<sup>1</sup>

A careful perusal of the whole of this report of 1848 and 1849 will strengthen the faith of those who believe that Mr. Blatchford's resolution adopted at Des Moines is in the line of the best traditions of the Board; and in connection with it they will read with fresh interest the report of the Business Committee, unanimously adopted, amid enthusiastic applause, upon the memorial of the United Church of New Haven in reference to Rev. Robert A. Hume:—

"Your Committee recommend that the Prudential Committee at its very earliest convenience take up this case and seek to the utmost of its power an adjustment of these difficulties. Your Committee cannot but believe that in the light of all the action of the Board on this auspicious occasion these unhappy difficulties will be reconciled, preserving the unity of the Board and the harmony and earnest coöperation of all its constituency."<sup>2</sup>

#### THE CONSTITUTION OF ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY AS RELATED TO RECENT PROCEEDINGS.

THE public interest which has been awakened by the proceedings which have been undertaken against certain Professors in Andover Theological Seminary has given rise to inquiries in reference to the Constitution and administration of the Seminary. For the benefit of those who may be unfamiliar with its history, or who may be remote from the sources of information, we give the following statement, including the chief articles in the original instruments which have a bearing upon the present case. We have no hesitancy in furnishing this information, though for obvious reasons we remain silent at this stage of the proceedings in respect to the questions at issue.

Andover Theological Seminary was in part an offshoot from Phillips Academy (Andover), and in part a graft upon it. The Founders of the Institution were respectively designated, according to this difference, as the "Original Founders" and the "Associate Founders." This two-

<sup>1</sup> The report from which this and preceding extracts are taken is signed, "By order and in behalf of the Prudential Committee, Rufus Anderson, David Greene, Selah B. Treat, Secretaries."

<sup>2</sup> The Business Committee consisted of Hon. E. D. Holton; Hon. Philo Parsons; President J. H. Fairchild; President J. W. Strong; and the Hon. Arthur W. Tufts.

fold origin of the Seminary determines its mode of administration, and explains its theological position and terminology.

In the constitution of Phillips Academy, executed April 21, 1788, by Samuel Phillips and John Phillips, the following passage occurs, which indicates the intention of the Founders of the Academy: "Whereas, many of the students in this Seminary may be devoted to the sacred work of the gospel ministry; that the true and fundamental principles of the Christian religion may be cultivated, established, and perpetuated in the Christian Church, so far as this Institution may have influence, it shall be the duty of the Master, as the age and capacities of the scholars will admit, not only to instruct and establish them in the truth of Christianity, but also early and diligently to inculcate upon them the great and important Scripture doctrines of the existence of One True God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, of the Fall of Man, the Depravity of Human Nature, the necessity of an Atonement, and of our being Renewed in the Spirit of our minds: the doctrines of Repentance toward God, and of Faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ, of Sanctification by the Holy Spirit, and of Justification by the True Grace of God, through the Redemption that is in Jesus Christ, in opposition to the erroneous and dangerous doctrine of Justification by our own merit, or a dependence on Self Righteousness, together with the other important doctrines and duties of our Holy Christian Religion."

It was not, however, till after the death of the Founders of Phillips Academy that their intentions were fully carried out in the establishment of a theological department. The preamble to the Constitution of the Theological Seminary refers to their original purpose and shows what provision was made for its fulfillment. This instrument bears date of August 31, 1807, and is signed by Phoebe Phillips, John Phillips, Jr., and Samuel Abbot.

"It having pleased the Father of lights and Author of all good to inspire the late Honorable SAMUEL PHILLIPS, of Andover, in the County of Essex and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Esquire, and the late Honorable JOHN PHILLIPS, of Exeter, in the County of Rockingham and State of New Hampshire, Esquire, with the pious determination to make 'a humble dedication to their Heavenly Benefactor of the ability, wherewith He had blessed them,' by laying, in the year 1778, in the South Parish in Andover aforesaid, the foundation of a public Academy, for the instruction of youth, not only in the learned Languages and in various useful Arts and Sciences, but principally for the promotion of true PIETY and VIRTUE;—it having also pleased the INFINITE MIND, at subsequent periods, to excite the said JOHN PHILLIPS, and likewise the late Hon. WILLIAM PHILLIPS, of Boston, in the County of Suffolk and Commonwealth aforesaid, Esquire, to make liberal provision, not only for 'promoting the virtuous and pious education of indigent youth of genius, and of serious disposition, in said Academy;' but 'more especially for the benefit of charity, Scholars of excelling genius, good moral character, hopefully pious, and designed for the great and good work of the gospel ministry, who, having acquired the most useful human literature, may be assisted in the study of Divinity, under the direction of some eminent Calvinistic Minister of the gos-

pel, until such time, as an able, pious, and orthodox Instructor shall be supported in the said Academy, as a Professor of Divinity, by whom they may be taught the important and distinguishing tenets of our HOLY CHRISTIAN RELIGION.'

"In pursuance therefore of the same benevolent and pious object, and with a desire to devote a part of the substance, with which Heaven has blessed us, to the defense and promotion of the Christian Religion, by making some provision for increasing the number of *learned and able* Defenders of the gospel of CHRIST, as well as of *orthodox, pious, and zealous* Ministers of the New Testament; being moved by the same Spirit, which actuated the Founders and Benefactors aforesaid, and influenced, as we hope, by a principle of gratitude to God and benevolence to man;—

"We, PHOEBE PHILLIPS, of said Andover, Relict of SAMUEL PHILLIPS, Esq., late Lieutenant Governor of the Commonwealth aforesaid, and JOHN PHILLIPS, son of the said SAMUEL PHILLIPS and PHOEBE PHILLIPS, do hereby jointly and severally obligate ourselves to erect and finish, with all convenient dispatch, two separate buildings; one of which to be three stories high, and of such other dimensions, as to furnish convenient lodging rooms for fifty Students; and the other building to be two stories high, and of such dimensions, as to furnish, in addition to a kitchen and private rooms necessary to a Steward's family, three public rooms, one for a dining Hall, one for a Chapel and Lecture room (each sufficiently large to accommodate sixty Students), and the third for a Library. The said buildings to be located by direction of the TRUSTEES OF PHILLIPS ACADEMY;— And I, SAMUEL ABBOT, of Andover aforesaid, Esquire, with the same views, and in furtherance of the same design, do hereby give, assign, and set over unto the TRUSTEES aforesaid the sum of twenty thousand dollars, in TRUST, as a Fund for the purpose of maintaining a professor of Christian Theology (reserving to myself the right of appointing the first Professor on this Foundation), and for the support and encouragement of Students in Divinity; both the said buildings and the interest or annual income of the said sum of money to be forever appropriated and applied by the TRUSTEES aforesaid for the use and endowment of such a public THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTION in PHILLIPS ACADEMY as is hereinafter described, and on the following express conditions, viz., that the said INSTITUTION be accepted by the TRUSTEES aforesaid, and that it be forever conducted and governed by them, and their successors, in conformity to the following general Principles and Regulations, which we unitedly adopt and ratify as the CONSTITUTION of the same, reserving to ourselves, however, during our natural lives the full right, jointly to make any additional regulations, or to alter any Rule, herein prescribed; provided such Regulation or Alteration be not prejudicial to the true design of this Foundation."

The following articles of the Constitution give the doctrinal basis upon which the Seminary was to be established:—

"ART. XI. Every Professor in this Seminary shall be a Master of Arts, of the Protestant Reformed religion, in communion with some Christian church of the Congregational or Presbyterian denomination, and sustain the character of a sober, honest, learned, and pious man; he shall, moreover, be a man of sound and orthodox principles in Divinity, according to that form of sound words or system of evangelical doctrines, drawn from the Scriptures, and denominated the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism, and more concisely delineated in the Constitution of Phillips Academy.

"ART. XII. Every person, therefore, appointed or elected a Professor in this Seminary shall on the day of his inauguration into office, and in the presence of the said Trustees, publicly make and subscribe a solemn declaration of his faith in divine revelation and in the fundamental and distinguishing doctrines of the gospel of Christ, as summarily expressed in the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism; and he shall farthermore solemnly promise that he will open and explain the Scriptures to his pupils with integrity and faithfulness; and that he will maintain and inculcate the Christian faith, as above expressed, together with all the other doctrines and duties of our holy religion, so far as may appertain to his office, according to the best light God shall give him; and in opposition, not only to atheists and infidels, but to Jews, Mahometans, Arians, Pelagians, Antinomians, Arminians, Socinians, Unitarians, and Universalists, and to all other heresies and errors, ancient or modern, which may be opposed to the Gospel of Christ, or hazardous to the souls of men; that by his instructions, counsels, and example, he will endeavor to promote true piety and godliness; that he will consult the good of this Institution and the peace of the churches of our Lord Jesus Christ on all occasions; and that he will religiously observe the statutes of this Institution relative to his official duties and deportment, and all such other statutes and laws as shall be constitutionally made by the Trustees of Phillips Academy not repugnant thereto."

Theologically, the "Original Founders" belonged to the party known as Moderate Calvinists. Their position has been so accurately and impartially defined by Dr. Leonard Bacon in his discourse commemorative of the fiftieth anniversary of the Seminary, that we quote his language. "If they called themselves Calvinists, what they meant was that they were not Hopkinsians. If they were of the Old School in theology, they were so by virtue of their opposition to the New Divinity. Their Old Calvinism was far from being *hyper*-Calvinism; nor was it of that sort which frightens itself with the 'ghost of Semi-Pelagius.' Indeed there was very little of Scottish acrimony in its temper. Without any disrespect to their memory, I may say that their Calvinism was of a mitigated type, compared with the Calvinism of Hopkins, or with that of Whitefield and Toplady—not to mention such divines as Gill and Crisp. They were admirers of Baxter and Doddridge, more than of those to whom Baxter and Doddridge are of suspected orthodoxy. In the eyes of the 'New Calvinists,' as their Hopkinsian opponents were sometimes called, they were not much better than 'Old Arminians.' . . . Their intellectual and theological descent from Calvin was not in the line of Scottish Covenanters or of Low Dutch metaphysicians, but in the line of such New England divines as President Stiles and President Holyoke, and the Hollis Professors of Divinity in Harvard College. . . . They were afraid of excesses; and they verily thought, not without reason, that the high speculations and unflinching deductions of the 'New Divinity' would needlessly stimulate the natural repugnance of men's hearts against the doctrines of grace. As a body they had in several respects the advantage of the progressives. They had more men of eminent and various learning, more men of superior refinement, and more of the influence which belongs to personal dignity and to position in society."



The "Original Founders," according to this delineation, were fitly represented in the person of Eliphalet Pearson, the first Principal of Phillips Academy, afterwards Professor of Hebrew and other Oriental languages in Harvard College, and upon his return to Andover called to fill the chair of Sound Literature, which position he retained but a year. Dr. Pearson was for many years the President of the Board of Trustees of Phillips Academy, and it was doubtless due to his efforts, beyond those of any other man, that the Seminary was established on the basis of compromise and union with the party to which we shall soon refer. It is reported that he made thirty-six journeys from Andover to Newburyport to effect this union. His energy was equaled only by his sagacity and breadth of view in forecasting the requirements of a theological school. The Constitution of Andover Theological Seminary is still in advance, in the courses of study which it suggests, of the curriculum of the Institution.

The "Associate Founders" — William Bartlet and Moses Brown, of Newburyport, and John Norris, of Salem — acted in their benefactions under the inspiration and guidance of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Spring. Dr. Spring was a recognized leader among the advocates of the "new Divinity." At this very time, in consultation with Dr. Daniel Hopkins, Dr. Emmons, and the Rev. Leonard Woods, he was planning the founding of a theological school in the interest of the theology which he represented. "As is well known, almost simultaneously with the founding of the Seminary at Andover, a movement was set on foot by another party of men known as Hopkinsians for establishing a theological Seminary of their own, either at Franklin, the home of Dr. Emmons, or at Newbury, the home of Dr. Woods. . . . The 'Associate Founders' (of Andover Seminary) were Hopkinsians. The school of theologians which they represented were often called 'New Lights,' 'New Calvinists,' 'Edwardians,' but more generally 'Hopkintonians' or 'Hopkinsians,' from Dr. Samuel Hopkins, of Newport. They claimed to be 'Consistent Calvinists,' and to have excluded from the old system certain unessential and repellant elements, such as 'the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity; the imputation of Christ's righteousness to believers; the natural inability of sinners to turn from sin; and a limited atonement;' which Dr. Emmons called the gross absurdities or mere wens and protuberances, which must be pared off from true Calvinism, in order to make it appear consistent with reason and Scripture."<sup>1</sup> — It will be seen that it was no easy matter to effect a union between two parties as diverse in theological opinion and disposition as the party represented by the "Original Founders" and that represented by the "Associate Founders." Without doubt the differences between them were as great and as real as those which have ever existed, or which exist now, between the two wings of the Congregational denomination. "So many and great indeed were these differences that they were often spoken of as 'two sects' or 'two denominations.'" And with the difference in opinion there was the usual sus-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Fiske on *The Creed of Andover Theological Seminary*, page 9.

picion. The "New Divinity" men suspected the "Old" of liberalism; the "Old Divinity" men charged the "New" with speculation. Probably it would be a fair characterization to say that the party of the "Original Founders" was the broader and the more liberal in its theological sympathies: and that the party of the "Associate Founders" was more progressive, if not more adventurous, in its thought.

But the union was effected. A coalition was formed between the two parties. The negotiations occupied some months, and the result at first reached was tentative. The compact was to exist for seven years, then it might be changed or broken; if not, then it was to remain inviolate. This explains the clause in the agreement which has often been wrongly applied to the manner of subscription to the creed of the Seminary. "It is strictly and solemnly enjoined and left in sacred charge that every article of the above creed shall forever remain entirely and identically the same, without the least alteration, or any addition or diminution," — the creed, that is, as an instrument agreed to by the two parties, was not to be changed after a specified time by either; for, as the article goes on to specify, — "But we reserve to ourselves the right as Founders jointly to make in concurrence with the said Trustees, and within the term of seven years, such amendments or additional articles, in perfect consistence with the true object of these statutes, as upon experience and due consideration shall be deemed necessary, the more effectually to secure and promote the real design of this our Foundation."

The incoming of the "Associate Founders" introduced two features, which considerably modified the plan of the "Original Founders": namely, a new creed, and a supervising board, known as the Board of Visitors. The statutes of the Associate Foundation bear date of March 21, 1808, and are signed by Moses Brown, William Bartlet, and John Norris. We give the preamble to these statutes as disclosing the motive of the signers, and as showing their first benefactions.

"Seriously reflecting upon the fatal effects of the apostasy of man without a Savior, on the merciful object of the SON of GOD in assuming our nature and dying for our salvation, and upon the wisdom of his appointment of an order of men, to preach his gospel in the world; considering also that, notwithstanding this appointment, by far the greatest part of the human race is still perishing for lack of vision; and that even in countries, where the gospel is enjoyed, infidelity, error, and immorality greatly abound; feeling it to be our duty, to conspire with the benevolent design of this appointment; and being desirous of contributing according to our ability toward its success; and of expressing in this imperfect manner our sense of obligation to our compassionate REDEEMER: We, MOSES BROWN and WILLIAM BARTLET, both of Newburyport, merchants, and JOHN NORRIS, of Salem, Esquire, all of the County of Essex, and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, being influenced, as we hope, by a principle of gratitude to GOD and benevolence to man, have determined to devote a part of the substance, with which Heaven has blessed us, to the defense and promotion of the Christian Religion, by making some provision for increasing the number of learned and able defenders of the gospel of CHRIST, as well

as of orthodox, pious, and zealous ministers of the New Testament ; and we do accordingly hereby give, assign, and set over to the TRUSTEES of PHILLIPS ACADEMY, and to their successors in office, the sum of ten thousand dollars each, amounting to thirty thousand dollars ; to which sum, I, WILLIAM BARTLET, add the farther sum of ten thousand dollars, for the purpose of supporting one of the two professors, hereinafter named (the whole amounting to forty thousand dollars), in SACRED TRUST, as a capital fund, to be disposed of in the manner and for the purposes following ; that is to say, the said sum of money to be kept out at interest on good security, or otherwise in whole or in part vested, as the said TRUSTEES shall deem best, in productive real estate, or in sure and permanent funds ; and the interest or annual income of said capital fund to be applied to the maintenance of two professors in the THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTION or SEMINARY, lately founded in the town of Andover, and County aforesaid ; who shall, agreeably to the permanent creed, hereinafter mentioned, faithfully teach that revealed Holy Religion only, which God constantly teaches man by his glorious works of Creation, Providence, and Redemption ; whose professional duties shall be assigned, according to the Constitution of the Seminary, in such manner as shall most directly and effectually promote the great object of the INSTITUTION ; reserving to ourselves the right, jointly to make the first appointment of one of the said professors, and to the said WILLIAM BARTLET severally the right, to make the first appointment of the other of the said professors ; and also toward the maintenance of such students in divinity, as may be proper candidates for gratuitous support, and shall be approved and recommended by the Board of VISITORS, hereinafter constituted, or by a committee of their appointment, agreeably to the following STATUTES."

Article II. of the Statutes, in prescribing the qualifications of a professor upon an Associate Foundation, introduces the creed which was to be thenceforth the doctrinal basis of the Seminary ; —

"Every Professor on the Associate Foundation shall be a Master of Arts, of the Protestant Reformed Religion, an ordained minister of the Congregational or Presbyterian denomination, and shall sustain the character of a discreet, honest, learned, and devout Christian ; an orthodox and consistent Calvinist ; and after a careful examination by the visitors with respect to his religious principles, he shall, on the day of his inauguration, publicly make and subscribe a solemn declaration of his faith in Divine Revelation, and in the fundamental and distinguishing doctrines of the gospel as expressed in the following creed ; which is supported by the infallible revelation which God constantly makes of himself in the works of creation, providence, and redemption, namely : —

"I believe that there is one and but one living and true God ; that the word of God contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament is the only perfect rule of faith and practice ; that agreeably to those Scriptures God is a Spirit, infinite, eternal and unchangeable in his being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth ; that in the Godhead are three Persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost ; and that these Three are One God, the same in substance, equal in power and glory ; that God created man after his own image, in knowledge, righteousness, and holiness ; that the glory of God is man's chief end, and the enjoyment of God his supreme happiness ; that this enjoyment is derived solely from conformity to

heart to the moral character and will of God ; that Adam, the federal head and representative of the human race, was placed in a state of probation, and that, in consequence of his disobedience, all his descendants were constituted sinners ; that by nature every man is personally depraved, destitute of holiness, unlike and opposed to God, and that previously to the renewing agency of the Divine Spirit all his moral actions are adverse to the character and glory of God ; that, being morally incapable of recovering the image of his Creator, which was lost in Adam, every man is justly exposed to eternal damnation, so that except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God ; that God, of his mere good pleasure, from all eternity, elected some to everlasting life, and that he entered into a covenant of grace to deliver them out of this state of sin and misery by a Redeemer ; that the only Redeemer of the elect is the eternal Son of God, who for this purpose became man, and continues to be God and man in two distinct natures and one person forever ; that Christ, as our Redeemer, executeth the office of a Prophet, Priest, and King ; that, agreeably to the covenant of redemption, the Son of God, and He alone, by his sufferings and death, has made atonement for the sins of all men ; that repentance, faith, and holiness are the personal requisites in the gospel scheme of salvation ; that the righteousness of Christ is the only ground of a sinner's justification ; that this righteousness is received through faith, and that this faith is the gift of God ; so that our salvation is wholly of grace ; that no means whatever can change the heart of a sinner and make it holy ; that regeneration and sanctification are effects of the creating and renewing agency of the Holy Spirit, and that supreme love to God constitutes the essential difference between saints and sinners ; that by convincing us of our sin and misery, enlightening our minds, working faith in us and renewing our wills, the Holy Spirit makes us partakers of the benefits of redemption ; and that the ordinary means by which these benefits are communicated to us are the Word, sacraments, and prayer ; that repentance unto life, faith to feed upon Christ, love to God, and new obedience are the appropriate qualifications for the Lord's Supper, and that a Christian church ought to admit no person to its holy communion before he exhibit credible evidence of his godly sincerity ; that perseverance in holiness is the only method of making our calling and election sure ; and that the final perseverance of saints, though it is the effect of the special operation of God on their hearts, necessarily implies their own watchful diligence ; that they who are effectually called do in this life partake of justification, adoption, and sanctification, and the several benefits which do either accompany or flow from them ; that the souls of believers are at their death made perfect in holiness, and do immediately pass into glory ; that their bodies, being still united to Christ, will at the resurrection be raised up to glory, and that the saints will be made perfectly blessed in the full enjoyment of God to all eternity ; but that the wicked will awake to shame and everlasting contempt, and with devils be plunged into the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone forever and ever. I moreover believe that God, according to the counsel of his own will, and for his own glory, hath foreordained whatsoever comes to pass, and that all beings, actions, and events, both in the natural and moral world, are under his providential direction ; that God's decrees perfectly consist with human liberty ; God's universal agency with the agency of man ; and man's dependence with his accountability ; that man has understanding and corporeal strength to do all that God requires of him ; so that nothing but the sinner's aversion to holiness prevents his sal-

vation ; that it is the prerogative of God to bring good out of evil, and that He will cause the wrath and rage of wicked men and devils to praise Him ; and that all the evil which has existed and will forever exist in the moral system will eventually be made to promote a most important purpose under the wise and perfect administration of that Almighty Being, who will cause all things to work for his own glory, and thus fulfill all his pleasure."

To this creed is to be added that part of Article XII. of the Original Foundation which commences with the clause : "And he shall, (I.) furthermore solemnly promise," etc.

The creed, as given above, in its studied and precise phraseology seems to be restrictive if not repressive. Such it is in appearance, but such it was not in intention. It was prepared by men who were committed to the theory of improvements in theology. It was their determined purpose to make the creed an advance upon the Westminster Standard, and to guard against the possibility of return to the formularies of the older Calvinism. The history of the times is emphatic in its assertion of this fact.

"The Founders, especially the Associate Founders" — we quote again from Dr. Fiske's careful study of the history of the Creed — "belonged to a class of theologians who believed in the improbability of theological science. President Edwards said, 'We cannot suppose the church of God is already possessed of all the light in things of this nature that God ever intends to give it, nor that all Satan's lurking-places have already been found out.' The younger Edwards, while enumerating ten 'Improvements' made by his father, says : 'There is abundant room for improvement in every science, specially in theology. Many new truths will break forth from the Word of God.' Dr. Hopkins says : 'I had much rather publish *new* divinity than any other. It is at least possible that there is some truth contained in the Bible which has not been commonly taught, yea, has never been mentioned, by any writer since the apostles, and whenever that shall be discovered and brought out it will be *new*. And who knows but that some such new discoveries may be made in our day ; if so, unhappy and very guilty will be the man who shall attempt to fright people and raise their prejudices against it by raising the cry of *new* divinity.' " Dr. Hopkins was the founder of the school of theology known as Hopkinsian, to which the "Associate Founders" belonged, and which found expression for its views in the new creed.

Article XII. of the "Statutes of the Associate Foundation" establishes the Board of Visitors, and Articles XX., XXI., XXV., prescribe its duties.

"ART. XII. That the Fund aforesaid may be always executed agreeably to the true intent of this our Foundation ; and that we may effectually guard the same in all future time against all perversion or the smallest avoidance from true design, as herein expressed : We, the aforesaid Founders, do hereby constitute a Board of Visitors to be as in our place and stand the guardians, overseers, and protectors of this our Foundation in manner, as is expressed in the following provisions, that is to say, We appoint and constitute the Hon. Caleb

Strong, Esquire, late Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the Rev. Timothy Dwight, D. D., President of Yale College, and the Rev. Samuel Spring, D. D., of Newburyport aforesaid, Visitors of the said Foundation; who, with their successors in office, to be chosen as hereinafter directed, shall be a perpetual body for this purpose, with all the powers and duties in them herein vested and on them enjoined; but we do nevertheless reserve to ourselves the right of visiting in connection with the said Board, and during our natural lives respectively, this our Foundation. And we do moreover confer on Samuel Abbot, Esquire, one of the Founders of the Theological Institution aforesaid, the right of visiting this our Foundation in the same manner with ourselves during his natural life; each of the said four Founders, so long as he shall retain his seat in the Board, shall possess and exercise all the rights and powers herein given to a Visitor of this Foundation; though upon the resignation or demise of either of the said Founders his place shall not be supplied by election of a Visitor to succeed him; and after the demise or resignation of the said four persons last above named as Founders, the said Board shall never consist of more than three members; and it is further expressly provided that the perpetual Board of Visitors, first herein named, shall consist of two Clergymen and one Layman, all of whom shall be men of distinguished talents and piety."

"ART. XX. The power and duties of the Board of Visitors thus constituted and organized shall be as follows, namely: To visit the said Foundation once in every year, and at other times when regularly called thereto; to inquire into the state of the said fund and the management of the said Foundation with respect to the said Professor; to determine, interpret, and explain the statutes of the said Foundation in all cases brought before them in their judicial capacity; to redress grievances with respect to said Professor; to hear appeals from decisions of the Board of Trustees and to remedy upon complaint duly exhibited in behalf of the said Professor; to review and reverse any censure passed by said trustees upon any Professor on said Foundation; to declare void all rules and regulations made by the said Trustees relative to said Foundation which may be inconsistent with the original statutes thereof; to take care that the duties of each Professor on said Foundation be intelligibly and faithfully discharged, and to admonish or remove him either for misbehavior, heterodoxy, incapacity, or neglect of the duties of his office; and in general to see that our true intentions, as expressed in our said Constitution in relation to said Professor, be faithfully executed; always administering justice impartially and exercising the functions of their office in the fear of God, according to these regulations, the provisions of the said constitution, and the laws of the land."<sup>1</sup>

"ART. XXI. Every election of a Professor on said Foundation shall within ten days be presented to the Visitors, who are hereby vested with the power and right of approving or negating, at a regular meeting, every such election. But, if any such election be not thus either approved or negated by the said Visitors within twelve months from the commencement of a vacancy in said professorship, such election shall be considered as approved by the Visitors, and

<sup>1</sup> The following article, under the Act of Incorporation of Phillips Academy, gives Visitorial power also to the Trustees:—

ART. V. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said Samuel Phillips and others, the Trustees aforesaid, and their successors, the longest lived and survivors of them, be the true and sole Visitors, Trustees and Governors of the said Phillips Academy in perpetual succession forever.



shall accordingly be deemed constitutional and valid ; provided, always, that such election shall have been regularly communicated to the President or Secretary of the Board of Visitors ten days at least previously to the expiration of the twelve months aforesaid."

"ART. XXV. The Board of Visitors in all their proceedings are to be subject to our statutes herein expressed and to those contained in our said Constitution, and to conform their measures accordingly ; and, if they shall at any time act contrary thereto or exceed the limits of their jurisdiction and constitutional power, the party aggrieved may have recourse by appeal to the Justices of the Supreme Judicial Court of this Commonwealth for the time being for remedy ; who are hereby appointed and authorized to judge in such case ; and, agreeably to the determination of the major part of them, to declare null and void any decree or sentence of the said Visitors, which, upon mature consideration, they may deem contrary to the said statutes or beyond the just limits of their power herein prescribed, and by the said Justices of the Supreme Judicial Court for the time being, shall the said Board of Visitors at all times be subject to be restrained and corrected in the undue exercise of their office."

In regard to the relation of the Board of Visitors, as thus organized, to the original Board of Trustees of Phillips Academy, it may be said in general that the duties of the latter are administrative, those of the former supervisory. The Trustees elect the Professors, and the Creed is taken before them ; the Visitors examine the Professors upon their election as to their theological opinions. The order of appeal is from the Board of Trustees to the Board of Visitors.

The Boards are constituted at present as follows :—

#### BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

- Rev. DANIEL T. FISKE, D. D., Newburyport, President.  
Rev. CECIL F. P. BANCROFT, Ph. D., Andover.  
EDWARD TAYLOR, Esq., Andover.  
Rev. JOSHUA W. WELLMAN, D. D., Malden.  
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Hon. JOSEPH S. ROFES, M. A., Boston.  
Rev. ALEXANDER MCKENZIE, D. D., Cambridge.  
Rev. WILLIAM H. WILLCOX, D. D., LL. D., Malden.  
Hon. ROBERT R. BISHOP, M. A., Newton Centre.  
Pres. FRANKLIN CARTER, Ph. D., LL. D., Williamstown.  
ALPHEUS H. HARDY, B. A., Boston.  
Rev. JAMES G. VOSE, D. D., Providence.

#### BOARD OF VISITORS.

- JULIUS H. SEELYE, D. D., LL. D., Amherst, President.  
Rev. WILLIAM T. EUSTIS, D. D., Springfield.  
Hon. JOSHUA N. MARSHALL, Lowell.

The Acting Faculty of the Seminary is made up of the following Professors :—

- Rev. JOHN P. GULLIVER, Stone Professor of the Relations of Christianity to the Secular Sciences.
- Rev. EGBERT C. SMYTH, Brown Professor of Ecclesiastical History, and President of the Faculty.
- Rev. WILLIAM J. TUCKER, Bartlet Professor of Sacred Rhetoric, and Lecturer on Pastoral Theology.
- Rev. JOHN PHELPS TAYLOR, Taylor Professor of Biblical Theology and History. (Assigned to the department of Biblical History and Oriental Archæology.)
- Rev. J. WESLEY CHURCHILL, Jones Professor of Elocution.
- Rev. GEORGE HARRIS, Abbot Professor of Christian Theology.
- Rev. EDWARD Y. HINCKS, Smith Professor of Biblical Theology.
- Rev. GEORGE F. MOORE, Hitchcock Professor of the Hebrew Language and Literature.
- Rev. FRANK E. WOODRUFF, Associate Professor of Sacred Literature.

The five Professors against whom proceedings have been undertaken are those associated as editors of the "Andover Review" — Professors Smyth, Tucker, Churchill, Harris, and Hincks.

#### THE ANDOVER REVIEW FOR 1887.

IN view of the demand for recent numbers of "The Andover Review," subscriptions will *now* be received by the publishers for the year '1887; and the October and November numbers (containing editorial discussions of current religious events), and the December number, will be included in the price of subscription.

It will be the aim of the editors during the coming year to make the "Review" representative of progressive thought in the maintenance and development of Evangelical Theology. It will also be equally their aim to present Christianity in its direct and practical relations to individual and social life, and to the work of the church.

With the November number a course of editorial articles will be begun entitled, "Christianity and its Modern Competitors," to be followed by the treatment of specific questions under Applied Christianity.

A series of papers may be expected upon Fiduciary and Commercial Morality.

Professor Palmer will close the discussion of "The New Education" in the December and January numbers, after which other topics of educational interest will be presented.

The subject of City Evangelization will receive special attention in editorial and contributed articles.

The January number will contain an article upon Hawthorne, the first of a series upon some of the eminent names in literature whose writings are of peculiar moral and spiritual significance.

The department of Missionary Intelligence, under the conduct of the Rev. C. C. Starbuck, will be supplemented by studies, in the field, into

Missions in Japan, China, and India, by the Rev. Edward A. Lawrence.

The departments of Sociological Notes (Rev. S. W. Dike), of Archæological Notes (Professor Taylor), of Biblical and Historical Criticism, and of Book Notices and Reviews will be continued as heretofore.

It is the hope of the editors and publishers of the "Review" that its pages will show an advance corresponding to the increase in its circulation and patronage.

Attention is called to the publishers' notice in the advertising columns of the "Review."

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## BIBLICAL AND HISTORICAL CRITICISM.

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### WOMEN AT THE TOMB.

#### A HARMONY OF THE RESURRECTION ACCOUNTS.

"The first day of the week . . . Mary Magdalene came, and told the disciples that she had seen the Lord."—JOHN XX. 1-18.

THE resurrection of Christ was a momentous event. Upon the certainty of it hangs our eternal hope. For He is the first-fruits; and if the first-fruits fail, no harvest can come of resurrection to us. Is the thing sure? There are four narrators of Christ's resurrection. And there is a seeming diversity in their accounts, especially in regard to the women at the tomb. Hence infidels cavil; and even Christians may have misgivings. How important that the history be harmonized in our minds!

Many harmonies have been offered; but none of them are perfectly satisfactory. Meyer says: "In no section of the evangelical history have harmonists, in their critical mosaic work, been compelled to expend more labor, and with less success, than in the section on the resurrection. The adjustment of the differences between John and the Synoptists, as also between the latter among themselves, is impossible." And Professor Westcott ("Gospels," p. 327) says: "The various narratives of the resurrection place the fragmentariness of the Gospel in the clearest light. They contain difficulties which it is impossible to explain with certainty. . . . In this point of view, we can dismiss without any minute inquiry the various schemes which have been proposed, for bringing the accounts, as they stand at present, into one connected narrative."

Notwithstanding this discouraging outlook, we have carefully gone over the ground, and have reached a more satisfactory result, which we give, as follows:—

The guide to this whole narrative is to be found in John xx. 1-18. For, of all the four narrators, John was the only eye-witness, and was most likely to give the true order of events, as Doddridge well remarks. Let us therefore take him for our guide. We will divide off his account of the resurrection morning (contained in these 18 verses) into *seven*

successive periods of time, putting into each the contemporaneous items mentioned by the other narrators.

#### THE SEVEN PERIODS.

*Period 1.* (John, *verse 1.*) *Women at the Tomb.* (John, 1 verse; Luke, 2 verses; Matthew, 3 verses; Mark, 4 verses.) John mentions Mary Magdalene alone (for reason see afterwards); Matthew mentions also the other Mary; Mark adds Salome; Luke adds Joanna and others.

*Period 2.* (John, *vv. 2, 3.*) *Mary gone; meanwhile a vision of one angel.* Matthew and Mark, through 8th verse; Luke, *vv. 3, 5, 9*, has it mixed in with a later scene.

*Period 3.* (John, *vv. 4-10.*) *Peter and John at the tomb.* (Luke, *vv. 12, 24.*) The women meanwhile flying and silent (Mark, *v. 8*), meet (it may be), and some of them return with Mary, between the two visions (Matthew and Mark, *v. 8*; Luke, *v. 9*).

*Period 4.* (John, *vv. 11-13.*) *Mary and the women together again at the tomb; a vision of two angels.* John speaks of Mary as if alone (for reason see afterwards). She was not alone (Luke, *vv. 3-5, 10*). Two angels were now seen by them all.

*Period 5.* (John, *vv. 14-16.*) *Mary turns aside and sees Jesus* (she "first," Mark, *v. 9*). Meanwhile the other women are still in the angel-vision in the tomb (Luke, *vv. 5-8*).

*Period 6.* (John, *v. 17.*) *Other women coming out from the tomb see Jesus with Mary, and fall at his feet; He says, "Touch me not"* (Matthew, *vv. 9, 10*; Luke, *v. 9*). Some of the women, hurrying out and scattering, get no sight of Jesus, but run and tell of angels only (Luke, *vv. 9, 22, 23*).

*Period 7.* (John, *v. 18.*) *The sight of Jesus reported, by Mary* (Mark, *v. 10*), and by those with her (Luke, *vv. 9, 10*). But they are perhaps delayed about it, by being met and questioned by the authorities (Matthew, *v. 11*); so that the two disciples had started for Emmaus before this last message arrived (Luke, *vv. 22, 23*). Their tidings were hardly believed (Mark and Luke, *v. 11*). "But Peter arose" (Luke, *v. 12*). West, White, and Doddridge favor the regarding of this as a second visit of Peter, connected with this sight of Jesus (*v. 34*).

#### RECAPITULATION.

Period	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
John xx.	1,	2, 3,	4-10,	11-13,	14-16,	17,	18.

Thus the narrative of John is seen to be exact and consecutive; Matthew and Mark having the same order, only filling in different details (with some left out which were best known to John). Luke alone seems somewhat to mix the two visions of angels; and he, throughout his Gospel, is notoriously less exact than the rest in regard to dates, — his account being supervised by Paul, who was not an eye-witness.

We here see that there were *two visions* of angels (instead of one or three, as some make out). These were (1) the *one-angel* vision, seen by others in absence of Mary; (2) the *two-angel* vision, afterwards seen by Mary with the rest (not by them separately in two visions, as usually taught). The errors and perplexities of the harmonists are thus happily resolved; and the whole story becomes luminous, consistent, and beautiful.

## ERRONEOUS VIEWS CONSIDERED.

Let us now look more particularly at the errors committed, and the way we are led to escape them.

Matthew and Mark (first eight verses) narrate only a one-angel vision of the women; and Luke (first eight verses) narrates only a two-angel vision of the women; while John seems to give no angel-vision of the women at all, but only a two-angel vision of Mary alone. The whole trouble is in locating the women's two visions of the first three Gospels into harmony with Mary's vision in John. So that the two great questions are, with the errors concerning them:—

I. Where in this account of John does the one-angel vision of Matthew and Mark belong?

Error 1, putting the one-angel vision *too early*; error 2, putting it *too late*; error 3, having *no* one-angel vision at all till the close.

II. Where does the two-angel vision of Luke belong?

Error 4, putting the two-angel vision *too late*; error 5, putting it *too early*; error 6, *mixing* together the one-angel and the two-angel vision.

*One-angel Vision.*

I. Where does the one-angel vision of Matthew and Mark belong? Here three errors are committed:—

*Error 1.* Putting the one-angel vision *too early*, that is, before Mary ran to tell Peter (in John, *v. 1*, at our period 1). This is the error of Calmet and White, of Guyse and Clarke; and it is open to these objections: (1.) It does not comport with Mary's meagre seeing, as in John, *v. 1*; nor with her meagre tidings to Peter (Meyer), as in *v. 2*. Nor would she have said to him and afterwards to Jesus, "we know not where they have laid" our missing Lord, if she had already received angelic assurance that He was risen. (2.) This view leaves the women unaccounted for, during all Mary's flight and Peter's visit to the tomb, or even longer. (3.) As Calmet and White have both the women's visions here mixed together, they thus incur all the additional objections of that view, as seen directly (at error 6).

*Error 2.* Putting the one-angel vision *too late*, that is, not until after Peter and John left the tomb (in *v. 10*, at our period 4; see Doddridge). This might seem a plausible plan between other extremes; but it is liable to these objections: (1.) It leaves the women still unaccounted for, during all Mary's flight and Peter's visit (John, *vv. 2-10*, periods 2 and 3). Or, if to obviate this Doddridge difficulty we adopt the amendment of President Edwards, Olshausen, Ebrard, and even Meyer, not having the women start for the tomb till some time after Mary, — then (2) not only does this contradict Matthew, Mark, and Luke (*v. 1*), that they all started together very early; but it is also difficult to think of Mary, a lone female, going off to visit a sepulchre "while it was yet dark," without any company, — especially as in her report of it she says "we" (John, *v. 2*).

*Error 3.* Having *no* one-angel vision till after Mary's visit (all being left till John, *v. 18*, at period 7). This is the error of Doddridge (with West) and President Edwards; and it is liable to these objections: (1.) It leaves the women unaccounted for from their arrival (*v. 1*) through all Mary's adventures (John, *vv. 1-18*, period 1-7). Doddridge and Dr. D. W. Clark are forced to say that they must have "fled to

some retired place astounded!" — a statement certainly astounding. President Edwards delays even the *coming* of the women till this latest point, by which means Mary does not join them at all, contrary to Matthew, Mark, and Luke (v. 1), who all put *them with her*, as starting very early in the morning, as it began to dawn. (2.) This view violates the order in Mark (v. 9), which puts Mary's sight of Jesus as *after* a vision of the women. (3.) This view compels the putting of the women's two-angel vision also at this late point, with all the objections attending that *mixed* method, as directly seen (at error 6; also error 4).

Since, therefore, we have seen the place of the first angel-vision to be *too late* after the visit of Peter and John to the tomb, and *too early* before Mary ran to them from the tomb, — it follows that this first angel-vision belongs truly *between* those two points, namely, in the interim between Mary's leaving the tomb and Peter's reaching it (that is, in period 2). Luke (v. 12) puts Peter's starting for the tomb as "then," when an angel-vision had but just transpired. According to this, Mary, first coming to the tomb, and finding it open and empty, runs off at once to tell Peter and John; while the rest of the women stopping behind are addressed by an angel inside (none but the keepers having seen the angel outside; Matthew, *vv.* 2-4) contrary to Meyer; after which, Peter and John come running up; and afterwards Mary returns with women to another vision of angels.

This more correct view of the matter, advanced by Scott in his Commentary, 1788, and by White in his Diatessaron, 1799, as well as Mac-knight, has latterly been adopted by Robinson, in his English and Greek Harmonies; by Gardiner, in his Greek Harmony; by Brown, in the new British Commentary; by Olshausen, and Barnes, and Lange, and Meyer, in their Commentaries; and by Haley, Ebrard, Kittó, etc. And it may now be considered as settled that this is the true arrangement for the first or one-angel vision.

#### *Two-angel Vision.*

II. Where does the two-angel vision of Luke belong? Here also three errors are committed: —

*Error 4.* Putting the two-angel vision *too late*, that is, after Mary's interview with Jesus (at John, v. 18, in period 7). This is the error of Doddridge, with West, and Guyse, of President Edwards, and Scott, and White, and Lange, and it is open to these objections: (1.) It allows no tidings from *women* about a vision of *angels only* (more than one *without Christ seen*) to come to the disciples, before the two started for Emmaus, and before Mary came telling of *Jesus seen*; as required by Luke (*vv.* 22, 23); noted by Godet. (2.) After their first visit the women fled (Matthew and Mark, v. 8); and there is in this arrangement no accounting for their being back (especially so soon) and after Mary had left a second time. Doddridge and Edwards try to escape this objection by mixing both visions of the women (thus delayed) into one, and so having *no return* of women after a flight. But they thus fall into all the other difficulties of this *mixed* method (at error 6, also 3).

*Error 5.* Putting the two-angel vision *too early*, that is, before Mary's return to the tomb. Thus Calmet, and White, and even Godet (seemingly), put the two-angel vision, mixed with the one-angel vision, as all seen by Mary before her running to tell Peter. They thus not only fall into the other objections (given at errors 1 and 6), but they add these: (1.) This leaves the women unaccounted for from Mary's leaving the



tomb *until all her proceedings are through* (that is, all the six periods after John, v. 1, on to v. 18); when, *after* appearing to Mary (Mark, v. 9), Jesus met *them* as they went from the tomb (Matthew, v. 9), although (according to this view) they left there with Mary at the first! (2.) This makes Mary have the two-angel vision twice over, which certainly cannot be.

We cannot avoid the difficulty by putting the one-angel vision *before* Mary's leaving the tomb, and the two-angel vision *after* she had left. This would set the two visions *in immediate succession*, but (not exactly mixing them) would make actually *three* angel-visions instead of two. This is an impossible view; because objection (1) still remains in large part, and objection (2) of the previous error 4 is added; but especially a new objection (3) comes in, viz.: that after fleeing in fear from an angel-vision, the *same women* would not *immediately enter again* to a new vision of *multiplied* angels. Morison, Eddy, and even Godet may seem as if tending to this view. But certainly Robinson, Gardiner, Olshausen, Meyer, and Barnes *mix up* the two visions as both one and the same, occurring just after Mary ran from the tomb, — the proper place of the one-angel vision only. This still leaves the objection (1) just given, with all the objections against *mixing* the two visions. Which latter we now proceed to give: —

*Error 6*, the most common of all. *Mixing together* the one-angel and the two-angel visions, as if they were the same. This is the error of Doddridge, Edwards, Calmet, White, Macknight, Robinson, Gardiner, Godet, Meyer, Olshausen, Barnes, Morison, Elliott, and Eddy; and in deed of nearly all the writers we have consulted. We can except only Guyse, West,<sup>1</sup> Scott, White, and Lange; all but the first of whom have the second women's vision at period 7, after Mary's sight of Jesus (as at error 4), making *three* angel-visions, instead of *two* as most reckon. Scott, White, and Lange have the first vision correctly at period 2; and Guyse (cited in Doddridge) has two visions at our periods 1 and 4.

#### MIXING THE TWO VISIONS

Is exposed to the following grave objections: (1.) The sight of *two angels* and of *one angel only* do not harmonize as the same event. At the first visit to the tomb one angel alone sat inside the tomb (Mark, v. 5), one angel having left the outside (Matthew, vv. 2-5); but at the second visit two angels stood and spoke (Luke, vv. 3, 4), arising *in sight* from a reclining posture. (See Haley and Macknight; John, v. 11.) (2.) The message of the two angels was quite different from that of the one angel, as shown by Godet. (Compare Luke and Mark, vv. 6-8. Luke mixes the two.) The one angel alarmed them (flying with fear) by saying, "Why seek ye the living among the dead? He is not here, but is risen, — see where he laid, — go tell, — and meet him in Galilee." The two angels soothed them (retiring calmly) by tenderly inquiring of Mary, "Woman, why weepest thou?" and then (seemingly in view of her answer) continuously reminding them all how Jesus himself had foretold these very scenes of death and resurrection. (3.) The mixed view neces-

<sup>1</sup> *The Resurrection of Christ*. By Gilbert West, Esq. London, 1747. 8vo. Highly commended in Horne's *Introd. Bib. Ind.*, p. 61. Doddridge in his *Expositor* cites and approves West; and he is nearly followed by Towson, 1793, and by White's *Diatessaron*, 1799 (says Horne as above). With the last-named, Clarke nearly agrees.

sitates *two* separate visions of the *two* angels, one of them with Mary all alone, which is not likely ; so that Kitto entirely ignores one of the two. (4.) Mary *did* return to a later two-angel vision, after leaving the tomb (John, *vv.* 2, 11) ; and others of the women would be likely to meet her, and return also (as Macknight shows), they thus seeing the two angels when she did, not when, before, they had seen but one. (5.) If they did not thus, like Mary, return to the tomb after leaving it, what could they be about in all the interval of John (*vv.* 2-18, period 2-7) ? — until after Mary's second visit and her interview with angels and with Jesus, — not until *after* which did He appear to *them* also, "as they went" fleeing from the tomb. This cannot mean their *fleeing* at first before even Peter was there, when even Mary had not seen Him ; but it must teach (as Barnes insists) that they "went" away a second time.

Mark (*v.* 2) indicates two arrivals at the tomb, mixed in the account, — the one "very early" (Matthew, "as it began to dawn") ; the other, "at the rising of the sun." (See Meyer.) Also, *v.* 8 indicates that after the first visit the women *in fear* reported nothing ; whereas, the mixed account of Luke (*v.* 9) gives their *joy* and their announcement after the second visit, — which Gardiner himself rightly shows must be different affairs. Doddridge, West, Scott, Lange, Haley, and Godet suggest a *second set* of women coming out, — Joanna, etc. (Luke, *v.* 10). Brown, in the British Commentary (at Mark, *v.* 9), suggests a *return* of women with Mary ; Barnes has them back without her ; but neither has them see angels. What could they be about ?

Robinson, Olshausen, and others, to meet the difficulty of Mark (*v.* 9) in their mixed method without women again at the tomb, have to interpret the "first" appearing of Jesus to Mary as meaning, not the first appearing of all, *before* his appearing to the women, but only the *first-named* by Mark ! — a very untenable idea. But they thus, by having an earlier appearing of Christ to the women, fall into the greater absurdity of having no party of women come telling of *angels alone* seen (with Christ not yet reported as seen), so late as the start to Emmaus, as required by Luke (*vv.* 22, 23). To Kitto this is inexplicable ; but Doddridge, Lightfoot, Macknight, and Lange try to meet the difficulty by *denying the literal truth* of Matthew (*v.* 9), that Jesus met *women* as they returned from the tomb. To such straits are expositors reduced to get along with their mixing of the two-angel with the one-angel vision.

#### THE CORRECT VIEW.

Now, then, since we have found that the women's two visions cannot be mixed, and that before Mary's vision is *too early* for their second vision, and after her vision is *too late*, — therefore, we have to regard the *two-angel vision of the women as closely allied with the two-angel vision of Mary herself*. Doddridge does in fact make the women enter the tomb while Mary, near by but unseen, is conversing with Jesus. Rather, we say, they came out of the tomb, while she, unseen by some of them, was thus conversing ; so that some ran to tell of the *angels seen*, while others lingering saw Jesus with Mary, and they with her *afterwards* brought this greater news.

This separation and double report of the women upon going away is testified to by Gardiner, Barnes, and other harmonists. Godet even tells us that the women's sight of Jesus in Matthew (*v.* 9), is *the same* as Mary's sight of him in Mark (*v.* 9), John (*v.* 17) ; in confirmation of

which he bids us compare "embraced his feet," and "tell my brethren," in the one account, with "touch me not," and "go to my brethren," in the other. Lange says: "The special experience of Mary [in seeing Jesus] is [at Mark, v. 9] *incorporated* with the vision of the other women." Yes! the things were indeed "incorporated" together; for they are but parts of a single scene.

No view but this will harmonize Matthew (v. 9) with John (v. 17) and Mark (v. 9). The fact, so inexplicable to Kitto and others, that *the women* "held Jesus by the feet," while yet he required of Mary "touch me not," is not explainable except in this view of a mingled scene. For they could have "held him by the feet" only just before his charge "touch me not." Matthew (v. 9), shows *why* Jesus spoke as in John (v. 17). That the women passed from the tomb just as Mary recognized the Saviour, appears from a trifling yet very suggestive phrase, noted by Meyer,—as Jesus said "Mary!" she "*turned herself*" and saith unto him, 'Rabboni,' showing that she had *turned around*,—I would say, at the rush of women. Did Providence leave *this little key* (unnoticed so long till Meyer) on purpose *now at last* to unlock this harmony of the resurrection story?

Of all the expositions to be found, the plan of Scott, White, West and Lange alone seems to approach our view, in the separate locating of the one-angel and the two-angel vision. They have the first vision rightly in Mary's absence from the tomb; but they put the second *after* Mary's vision of angels, not in conjunction with it, as we alone do. Moreover, Lange strangely puts Matthew's one-angel vision as coincident with Luke's two-angel vision; somewhat as Guyse (cited in Doddridge), while rightly making two angel-visions, and even seeming to make one of them coincident with Mary's, yet strangely mixes up the accounts of them.

The now current view of most writers differs from ours chiefly in this: that it combines the women's sight of two angels with *the one-angel vision*, instead of combining it with *Mary's sight of two angels* (as is here done). Several writers come very near, but no one quite seizes this determining idea.

According to the improved arrangement we have now established, the events at period 4 proceed as follows:—

Mary Magdalene, after starting out Peter and John, on *her* way back to the tomb takes with her some women not before starting ("Joanna and other women,"—Luke, *vv.* 1, 10; "several others," Meyer,— "bringing the spices," not named at the previous coming,—Mark, Matthew, John, v. 1), with other returning women, perhaps, whom she meets (Mark, v. 8). Being arrived there the women (mostly a new set) enter the tomb; while Mary stands in the doorway stooping down, and sees "two angels sitting" (John, *vv.* 11, 12). The angels speak to Mary weeping in the doorway, and she answers them (*vv.* 13, 14). As the angels rise in presence of the women, just then Mary hears a footfall without, and turning she sees a stranger off a little one side. So stepping away from the tomb to ask him for help she, after a little conversation, discovers that it is Jesus himself whom she is addressing.

Meanwhile, the women in the tomb who, while Mary was addressed by the angels, were bowing down their faces to the earth in fear (Luke, v. 5), as soon as Mary turned away were themselves addressed by the angels (now arisen plainly in view); whom they did not answer, as Mary had done (*vv.* 5-8),—no question being asked. But in timid joy (Mat-

thew, v. 8) over the comforting reminder of the angels, "they returned from the sepulchre" (Luke, v. 9). Some of them hurry off for the city, to tell of *angels seen* (Luke, vv. 22, 23); while others, turning a little one side, run directly upon *Mary talking with Jesus himself*, — just as she "turned herself" from looking at them as they came up, and discovering who he was exclaimed, "Rabboni — Master!" As he salutes them all, they all fall in worship and embrace his feet (Matthew, v. 10). Upon which he says to them all (including Mary), "Touch me not . . . but go to my brethren" (John, v. 17); "Be not afraid: go tell my brethren" (Matthew, v. 10).

They all start to go; but are met by the watchmen (v. 11), who are preparing for an overhauling of the matter before the council; and being questioned and detained (perhaps) as witnesses, they do not reach the disciples with their message from Jesus till later in the day (Luke, vv. 9, 10; Mark, v. 10; John, v. 18). Meanwhile, the two disciples have started for Emmaus, not knowing that Jesus himself has been seen (Luke, vv. 22, 23). Peter's sight of Jesus does not come in till now, later in the day (vv. 33, 34).

Thus is the whole history beautifully harmonized, and made simple and consistent. And this is done by the now accepted method of putting the first-angel vision during Mary's absence from the tomb, together with this our newly-arranged method, of putting the two-angel vision afterward on the return of Mary, with her and the women all present in it, as one single two-angel vision.

#### A SUMMARY ARGUMENT,

to show that Christ's appearing to Mary and to the other women was all really in one continuous event, as suggested by Godet: —

Three Evangelists have a mention of a woman-sight of Jesus, and each has *but one* such account; Mark and John only saying that it occurred to Mary Magdalene, but Matthew saying that it occurred to the women promiscuously, *including Mary* (vv. 1, 9); " . . . came Mary Magdalene and the other Mary . . . and as they went Jesus met them." Therefore, as *each Evangelist has but one such event*, and as by Matthew the *plural case is made to include the singular*, it is plain that there were not two separate events to be distinguished by any one of the writers, but a single affair, to be told in full or in part by the writers, according as it was impressed on the mind of each. Nor does the word "first" (at Mark, v. 9) make Mary's meeting of Jesus entirely separate from that of the women, but only the *first step* in it. Mary did "first" see Jesus, as there stated; but she was *not alone* in seeing him, for "the other Mary" joined her in it (Matthew, vv. 1, 9), and perhaps others too. Matthew expressly gives Mary Magdalene's sight of Jesus and the women's sight of Jesus as but one whole event, while Mark and John only state Mary's part in it as commencing "first."

There was a particular reason why John remembered Mary's vision and sight of Jesus more than that of the other women, all mention of which he entirely omits. It was *she* who came running to *him* and Peter, and first startled them with tidings from the tomb, which sent them hurrying thither themselves. (This reason Tholuck notes.) For the same reason, Peter also remembered chiefly Mary's part in the seeing of Jesus; and telling it to his amanuensis, Mark, he thus secured the insertion in that Gospel also, without mention of the other women. But

Matthew, who had no such personal reason to fasten Mary indelibly in mind, has told the fact in its general form, "Jesus met *them*," — the women. And Luke, having only Paul's tuition, who was not present to be thrilled by the women's story of *seeing Jesus alive*, says nothing about it; and also mixes up the visions.

I need only say, in closing, that we find in this Harmony of the Resurrection (so happily adjusted at last) a wonderful confirmation of the inspired accuracy of the Evangelists. Substantial agreement, with varied selection of details, especially when that agreement is seen only by careful sifting of those details, — this is the very height of corroboration to the testimony of independent witnesses. The cavils of infidels upon this very point of alleged discrepancy in the narrations are here met by a demonstration of unpremeditated concurrence that sets all objection at rest.

At the same time, the dates at which the several Gospels were written, as well as the identity of their authors, receive here a striking illustration. The mention of Mary Magdalene, and of the personal meeting with Jesus that first-day morning, is in each writing just what the authorship calls for, as already seen. The story of the first three Evangelists, evidently unadjusted by any collusion, could hardly be put together into harmony; until the fourth Gospel comes in at a later date, and without any seeming reference to the previous accounts, by means of new details personally known by John, furnishes a key which in consecutive order reconciles together the whole seemingly diverse account.

How beautiful, how grand, is the Harmony of Divine Revelation!

*Smith B. Goodenow.*

BATTLE CREEK, IOWA.

NOTE. — The following harmony has been arranged as a Sacred Drama or Bible Reading, exhibited by a Sunday School as an Easter Service; being set forth by five male and five female readers, personating the individuals concerned in the Gospel narrative. A copy may be had from the author.

## HARMONY OF CHRIST'S

MATTHEW XXVIII.	MARK XVI.	LUKE XXIV.
<p>1 In the end of the sabbath, as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week, came Mary Magdalene and the other Mary to see the sepulchre.</p> <p>2 And, behold, there was a great earthquake: for the angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone from the door, and sat upon it.</p> <p>3 His countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow:</p> <p>4 And for fear of him the keepers did shake, and became as dead men.</p> <p>5 And the angel answered and said unto the women, Fear not ye: for I know that ye seek Jesus, which was crucified.</p> <p>6 He is not here: for he is risen, as he said. Come, see the place where the Lord lay.</p> <p>7 And go quickly, and tell his disciples that he is risen from the dead; and, behold, he goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him: lo, I have told you.</p> <p>8 And they departed quickly from the sepulchre with fear and great joy; and did run to bring his disciples word.</p> <p>(Omitted.)</p>	<p>1 And when the sabbath was past, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome, had bought sweet spices, that they might come and anoint him.</p> <p>2 And very early in the morning, the first day of the week, they came unto the sepulchre (at the rising of the sun).</p> <p>3 And they said among themselves, Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the sepulchre?</p> <p>4 And when they looked, they saw that the stone was rolled away: for it was very great.</p> <p>5 And entering into the sepulchre, they saw a young man sitting on the right side, clothed in a long white garment; and they were affrighted.</p> <p>6 And he saith unto them, Be not affrighted: ye seek Jesus of Nazareth, which was crucified: he is risen; he is not here: behold the place where they laid him.</p> <p>7 But go your way, tell his disciples and Peter that he goeth before you into Galilee: there shall ye see him, as he said unto you.</p> <p>8 And they went out quickly, and fled from the sepulchre; for they trembled and were amazed: neither said they any thing to any man; for they were afraid.</p> <p>(Omitted.)</p>	<p>1 Now upon the first day of the week, very early in the morning, they came unto the sepulchre, bringing the spices which they had prepared, and certain others with them.</p> <p>2 And they found the stone rolled away from the sepulchre.</p> <p>(3 And they entered in, and . . . 5 [it was] said unto them, Why seek ye the living among the dead? 6 He is not here, but is risen: remember how he spake unto you when he was yet in Galilee. . . .</p> <p>9 And [they] returned from the sepulchre.)</p> <p>12 Then arose Peter, and ran unto the sepulchre; and stooping down, he beheld the linen clothes laid by themselves, and departed, wondering in himself at that which was come to pass.</p> <p>24 And certain of them which were with us went to the sepulchre, and found it even so as the women had said: but him they saw not.</p> <p>(Luke combines the second angel-vision after this period with the one before.)</p>



## RESURRECTION.

JOHN XX. (KEY).	ORDER OF EVENTS.	PERIOD.
<p>1 The first <i>day</i> of the week cometh Mary Magdalene early, when it was yet dark, unto the sepulchre, and seeth the stone taken away from the sepulchre.</p>	<p>At dawn there was an earthquake, and the stone was rolled away by an angel.</p> <p>Mary Magdalene comes (the other Mary and Salome following her), and they find the stone rolled away. Thinking the tomb robbed, and not waiting for the others,</p>	1. Women at the tomb.
<p>2 Then she runneth, and cometh to Simon Peter, and to the other disciple, whom Jesus loved, and saith unto them, They have taken away the Lord out of the sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid him.</p>	<p>Mary runs off to Peter and John, and they start for the tomb.</p> <p>Meanwhile, the other women (left behind by Mary) venture into the tomb, and there listen to a single angel (the one who had sat on the stone). He assures them of Jesus' resurrection, and sends them off with a message to the disciples.</p>	2. Mary gone; one-angel vision.
<p>3 Peter therefore went forth, and that other disciple, and came to the sepulchre.</p> <p>4 So they ran both together: and the other disciple did outrun Peter, and came first to the sepulchre.</p> <p>5 And he stooping down, and looking in, saw the linen clothes lying: yet went he not in.</p> <p>6 Then cometh Simon Peter following him, and went into the sepulchre, and seeth the linen clothes lie,</p> <p>7 And the napkin that was about his head, not lying with the linen clothes, but wrapped together in a place by itself.</p> <p>8 Then went in also that other disciple, which came first to the sepulchre, and he saw, and believed.</p> <p>9 For as yet they knew not the Scripture, that he must rise again from the dead.</p> <p>10 Then the disciples went away again unto their own home.</p>	<p>Just after their leaving, John arrives at the tomb.</p> <p>Peter next comes up, and goes in. They find no body of Jesus, and no angel appears. But they see the grave-clothes lying. Presently they return home.</p> <p>Meanwhile, Mary Magdalene is on her way back to the tomb, taking with her Joanna, and other women met by the way (at sun-rise).</p>	3. John and Peter at the tomb.

## HARMONY OF CHRIST'S

MATTHEW XXVIII.	MARK XVI.	LUKE XXIV.
( <i>Mary, with Joanna and others, returns to the sepulchre.</i> )	(2 . . . They came unto the sepulchre at the rising of the sun.)	3 And they entered in, and found not the body of the Lord Jesus. 4 And it came to pass, as they were much perplexed thereabout, behold, two men stood by them in shining garments:
		5 And as they were afraid, and bowed down <i>their</i> faces to the earth,
( <i>Women in the tomb.</i> )	9 Now when <i>Jesus</i> was risen early the first day of the week, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, out of whom he had cast seven devils.	they said unto them, Why seek ye the living among the dead? 6 He is not here, but is risen: remember how he spake unto you when he was yet in Galilee, 7 Saying, The Son of man must be delivered into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day rise again. 8 And they remembered his words. 9 And returned from the sepulchre.
9 And as they went to tell his disciples, behold, <i>Jesus</i> met them, saying, All hail. And they came and held him by the feet, and worshipped him. 10 Then said <i>Jesus</i> unto them, Be not afraid: go tell my brethren that they go into Galilee, and there shall they see me.	( <i>Two sets of women.</i> )	22 Yes, and certain women also of our company made us astonished, which were early at the sepulchre; 23 And when they found not his body, they came, saying, that they had also seen a vision of angels, which said that he was alive. (13 And, behold, two of them went that same day to a village called Emmaus. <i>Vt.</i> 22, 23.)
11 Now when they were going, behold, some of the watch came into the city, and shewed unto the chief priests all the things that were done. 12 And when they were assembled with the elders, and had taken counsel, they gave large money unto the soldiers.	10 And she went and told them that had been with him, as they mourned and wept. 11 And they, when they had heard that he was alive, and had been seen of her, believed not. 12 After that he appeared in another form unto two of them, as they walked, and went into the country.	9 . . . They returned from the sepulchre, and told all these things unto the eleven, and to all the rest. 10 It was Mary Magdalene, and Joanna, and Mary the mother of James, and other women that were with them, which told these things unto the apostles. 11 And their words seemed to them as idle tales, and they believed them not. (12 Now Peter had arisen, &c. 13. And behold two of them had gone that same day to a village, &c. See the Gr. and the Rev. and Marg.)

RESURRECTION (*concluded*).

JOHN XX. (KEY).	ORDER OF EVENTS.	PERIOD.
<p>11 But Mary stood without at the sepulchre weeping: and as she wept, she stooped down, and looked into the sepulchre,</p> <p>12 And seeth two angels in white sitting, the one at the head, and the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain.</p> <p>13 And they say unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? She saith unto them, Because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him.</p> <p>14 And when she had thus said, she turned herself back,</p>	<p>The other women go right into the tomb; but Mary stands in the doorway, stooping. They all see a vision of two angels within. The angels speak to Mary weeping in the doorway, and she answers. Perceiving a shadow behind her, she turns, and stepping from the tomb,</p>	4. Women's two-angel vision.
<p>and saw Jesus standing, and knew not that it was Jesus.</p> <p>15 Jesus saith unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? whom seekest thou? She, supposing him to be the gardener, saith unto him, Sir, if thou have borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away.</p> <p>16 Jesus saith unto her, Mary.</p>	<p>she beholds a man before her, who kindly inquires her business. Him she addresses as the gardener. He simply responds in a familiar tone, "Mary!"</p> <p>Meanwhile, the women in the tomb are addressed by the two angels. They now leave the tomb.</p>	5. Mary sees Jesus.
<p>She turned herself, and saith unto him, Rabboni; which is to say, Master.</p> <p>17 Jesus saith unto her, Touch me not; for I am not yet ascended to my Father: but go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father, and your Father; and to my God, and your God.</p>	<p>Some of them, hurrying to the city, tell of angels seen; while others, turning one side, run directly upon Mary, just as she recognizes the voice of Jesus saying "Mary!" and exclaims, "Rabboni, Master!"</p> <p>They all at once fall to grasp his feet in worship. Whereupon he says, "Touch me not; I am soon to ascend. But go to my brethren, and then to Galilee, where I shall be seen."</p>	6. Other women see Jesus.
<p>18 Mary Magdalene came and told the disciples that she had seen the Lord, and that he had spoken these things unto her.</p>	<p>They start to go; but are met by the watchmen, who are preparing for an overhauling of the matter by the council. With this detention (perhaps used as witnesses), they do not reach the disciples with their message from Jesus himself, until later in the day, when the two have started for Emmaus, not knowing that he has been seen.</p>	7. The story told to all.

## ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

THE traces of Bible traditions among the American aborigines are manifold. Some of them have been ably drawn out by Rev. Mr. Eels before the Philosophical Society of Great Britain. Such are the belief in a Supreme Being and the doctrine of man's immortality. The Peruvian practice of embalming pointed to a resurrection. Everywhere was the memory of a deluge. The idea of a Saviour, even, may not have been foreign to Montezuma. Dokibatl, the changer of the Tinnehs, perhaps embodied the same high conception, since the natives declare that he was Son of God. Indeed, they called him by the occasional name of Jesus. Rev. S. D. Peet, we are glad to see, alludes with commendation to this paper in the September "Antiquarian."

— Dr. D. G. Brinton adverted early in the year to the scholars now at work on the Maya Hieroglyphs. He mentions Dr. Schellhas, a lawyer of Berlin, and Dr. Förstemann, the librarian of the Royal Library at Dresden, as having devoted special attention to the Dresden Codex. Professor Cyrus Thomas has published in the third report of the Bureau of Ethnology some valuable results of his examination of Mayan and Mexican manuscripts. These bear on calendars largely. Two facts seem demonstrated: (1.) The symbols in the codices are to be read from right to left, opposite to the course of the sun. (2.) The character for 20 has been deciphered, and if phonetic stands for *kal*. Both Mayan and Mexican years consist of eighteen months of twenty days each. The weeks are thirteen days. It is curious that the chronology and feasts were expressed, the first by figures partly animal, partly human, the second by hieroglyphs. One plate contains the rain-god Tlaloc, with indication of the days opening the four years of the Mexican calendar. According to it the Acatl, or Cane-year, began with the dragon, Cipactli; the Tecpatl, or Flint-year, with death, Miquiztli; the Calli, or House-year, with the monkey, Ozomatli; and the Tochtli, or Rabbit-year, with the vulture, Cozcaquauhtli.

— According to an old Chinese book on botany, of the fourth century, henna was introduced into China by Arabian traders. It was conveyed there 1400 years ago on merchant vessels. Among Arab merchants in Canton at the end of the sixth century was the uncle of Mohammed. Hearing of his nephew's glory he returned to Arabia, but found him dead. "What message did he leave for me?" "None." "Then I will go back to China. If the prophet had wished the contrary he would have hinted his desire."

— A deplorable loss to science and humanity has been sustained the past year in connection with the Tēima Stele. M. Charles Huber, the intrepid and indefatigable discoverer, fell a victim, like Palmer, to the Arabs. The French vice-consul had warned him of his peril, but only succeeded in regaining his corpse. The stone thus purchased with blood is to be deposited in the Louvre. Its Aramæan inscription and Chaldæo-Assyrian ornamentation will have a pathetic interest.

— The great work inaugurated in 1872 in India of copying the frescoes of the Ajunta Caves has been completed. About 600 paintings and drawings, covering over 150,000 square yards of canvas, are the material result. Morally these trophies represent the utmost devotion on the part of Mr. Griffiths and four natives. It was necessary that the ar-

tists should live in caves at first, afterwards in a bungalow, season after season. The spoils are a pictorial story of Buddhist art from 200 B. C. to 600 A. D. Monasteries and temples hewn out of the rock were the framework of these paintings, unique in their animation and color. It may be the artists were Egyptians, Italians, or Greeks. More probably they were Indian, since they betray no leaven of foreign elements. Their subjects are Buddha and his disciples; elephant fights; domestic scenes of love, marriage, and death; the mart and the battle; preparing food and carrying water; the blooming of flowers and the soaring of birds; interminable processions; hunting scenes with cavaliers on spirited horses; festivals where dance and song and instrumental music are supreme; austerities where the hermit and the devotee breathe again the atmosphere of Asoka's age.

— In this connection we may call attention to a remarkable paper on the "Early Buddhist Symbolism," which was read in June before the Royal Asiatic Society. The object aimed at was to show that symbols not traceable to indigenous sources were imported from Western Asia. These were connected with sun-worship. Northern India was for eight centuries open politically to Assyrian and Chaldean influences. Then came Persian tribute and land trade between the dwellers on either bank of the Indus. Greek and Roman influence in India were not more undoubted. The popular superstitions in India, Assyria, and Persia were too similar to stand in the way of foreign elements in early Buddhist symbols. Such elements there manifestly were. In proof was named the early Indian alphabet. Also the Hindoos accepted the Chaldean astronomy, astrology, and notation of time. Exactly at the period of the highest prosperity of the Assyrian Empire the old Vedic religion of India was revolutionized. The *trisula* was a conventionalized scarab. It was an ancient sun-symbol in constant use in Persia, Assyria, and Chaldea as well as in Egypt.

— The Wolfe Expedition to Babylonia is yielding fruit already. Babylonian, Phœnician, and Hittite relics are now under the eye of American scholars. Dr. W. Hayes Ward, whose collection of Oriental seals is without a rival, has published a copy of a seal from Niffer with the unique type of a man bestriding a bird. It recalls the Arabian roc. Another seal has a Phœnician inscription. On one side is a worshiper standing before three *asheras*. On the other side is a helmeted warrior with a lion-headed man who is possibly the war-god, Nergal. The face of the seal contains the divine triad. The art is late Assyrian or Akhæmenian Persian. Dr. Ward also describes the famous Hittite monument of Eflatûn-Bunar, fifty miles northwest of Iconium, and a copy of the Haynes photograph is furnished. Its salient features are three winged circles and twelve human figures. Two of these are colossal. One wears the high-peaked cap which, like the upturned wings, is distinctively Hittite. The other ten hold up their arms Atlas-like. They are perhaps attendants of the two kings represented by the two colossi, each of whom adores the supreme God, while they are collectively embraced under the protection of the larger winged-disk.

— The "American Journal of Archæology," which contains the foregoing, gives us also in its issue for March, 1886, a capital account of recent archæological discoveries in Persia. The explorer is M. Dieulafoy. Under governmental patronage he studied the monuments of Farsistan bordering the Persian Gulf. The earliest and most original

of these were in the Polvar valley. Soil and climate conditioned vaults and terraces. For no water meant no wood, and the natives must be sheltered alike from tropical heat and almost arctic cold. Hence the cupola with pendentives and vaulted naves as an Ionian invention long before Byzantine art drew breath. Foreign influence was of two sorts. The *Græco-Lyikian* was the first. "The nation that owed to the other its processes of construction borrowed them only on the day when the Aryans of the South and the Hellenes met for the first time on the battle-fields of Lydia." Egypt spoke next, after Cambyses conquered her. The Persian palace shows slightly, the Persian tomb strongly, the influence of Nilotic art. Under Cyrus the sepulchral architecture was an isolated square, like Lykian tombs; after Darius the kings dug hypogæes in the face of the cliffs, like those of the Pharaohs.

— At Susa M. Dieulafoy resumed the English excavations discontinued for over thirty years. He was rewarded by discovering in the fortifications of the Élamite Gate a fragment of a panel of rare historic interest. This was a figure with a green robe and a golden cane, unmistakably a king. Singularly the lower part of the face, the beard, neck, and hand are black. In it the characteristics of the Ethiopian race were to be recognized. This comports with the classical tradition of an Ethiopian Memnon from the East, and the statement of Letronne that "the kingdom Memnon was placed in Susiana where his father Tithonus had built Susa."

— China is often thought to be outside the circle of human history. Professor Terrien de Lacouperie would make it next-door neighbor to Susiana. For six or seven years he has been accumulating proofs of the derivation of early Chinese civilization from Babylonia. The similarity of the duodenary cycle names in the "Erh-ya" and the "She-ki" to the twelve names of the Babylonian months, the calendar plant at the entrance of the palace of Yao according to the Bamboo books compared with the Assyro-Babylonian tree of life, the identification of Shang-ti with Shamash, are all in point. On them he lays minor stress, however. More direct and startling is his statement, "I found the oldest Chinese writing to be derived from a current form of that same Chaldean writing which used in lapidary style to be written with cuneiform strokes." The Chinese direction from *top to bottom* was no change from the Babylonian direction from left to right, due to the Chinese practice of cutting their notched sticks. For the perpendicular direction was still that of the ancient Chaldean writing, 2500 B. C., two centuries before the Bak tribes migrated into China.

— Sir Henry Rawlinson is understood to have declared himself, after three years of opposed opinion, a believer in Professor Terrien de Lacouperie's main position, namely, that Chinese civilization came from Assyrio-Babylonia, via Susiana. See "Journal" Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1885, page 449.

— Rev. Joseph Edkins, of Peking, thinks he finds in the "Chow pi swan King" a relic of the old Babylonian science. Chinese mathematicians of the Chow dynasty worked it up. The Babylonian elements are (1.) The dial for distinguishing latitudes by the length of the shadow. (2.) The clepsydra for marking time. (3.) The length of the shadow, the gnomon, and a point taken on the earth known with more or less certainty were supposed to give as a fourth proportional the height of the sun or heaven. (4.) The squares of the shadow and gnomon were known to be equal to



the square on the hypothenuse or line joining their extremities. These were probably introduced into China by water a little before 806 B. C.

— In the June "Zeitschrift für Assyriologie" is a note by Eberhard Schrader on Σελάμφας—*Salmanassar*. Ed. Meyer had called his attention to Niese's text of Josephus which, in the extract from Menander (Antiqq. ix. 14, §2; 81) substitutes, for the traditional ἐπὶ τούτους πέμψας ὁ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς κτλ., the phrase ἐπὶ τούτου Σελάμφας κτλ. This Σελάμφας was seemingly Salmanassar. On examination, Schrader finds this suggestion confirmed by the Latin translation, "Contra quos denuo Salamanassis-insurgens." The emendation is probable, if not certain, in his view. Josephus stands acquitted of one of his too frequent slips if the name of King Salmanassar was really in the fragment by Menander.

— Under the title, "Explanation of a Cappadocian Inscription," A. Amiaud reviews keenly Professor Sayce's twofold attempt at translating a brief cuneiform record from Kaisarieh. According to him the inscription is a forgery. The direction is abnormal and the tracing too modern to be genuine. Instead of a random series of characters the graver has followed a real and familiar text. Indeed, the first four lines are definitively:—

"Sennacherib king of legions king of Assyria  
Is seated on a lofty throne  
And the captives of the city of Lachish  
Defile before him."

Attentive comparison will make the fraud manifest to any Assyriologue. Professor Sayce is inclined so agree with M. Amiaud, but prefers not to say so while M. Ramsay pronounces the inscription genuine.

— M. Léon Heuzey read a memoir recently before the Académie des Inscriptions on "King Dounghi at Tello." This king was the ruler of Ur of the Chaldees, and one of the builders of the terraced tower of Mougheir. Current scholarly opinion had made him the father and suzerain of Goudéa, *patési* of Sirpoula. The sole basis of this view was the name Dounghi on a seal at the Hague. M. Heuzey proved by an impression that this reading was more than doubtful. Where the name Dounghi really occurred is on multitudes of small ornaments of Tello; it was never associated with the name Goudéa. These ornaments were dedicated to local deities. On one of them occurs the name of a new *patési*, called Loukani.

— A plan of the palace of Tello has been prepared by its discoverer, M. de Sarzec. One of its most striking features is a number of chambers in the wall-like doorways, but without an exit. M. Heuzey thinks they were meant to be shelters from the sun.

— Professor Tiele, of Leyden, has brought out a fact of interest based on new renderings of the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar. It is that (1.) MM. Hemming and Delitzsch were in error in supposing there were three main temples at Babylon and two at Borsippa. Really these were different chapels of one and the same temple in both places. (2.) The sanctuary E-ZIDA at Borsippa must be distinguished from the sanctuary of the same name which was part of the temple at Babylon. On this point the Dutch scholar agrees with Herodotus against Professor Sayce. The Borsippa E-ZIDA is the modern Birs-e-Nimrud or Tower of Babel. The Babylonian E-ZIDA was a shrine of Nebo included in the E-SAGILA or great temple of Bel-Merodach.

— The serpent symbol in America and in the East has attracted wide attention of late. Le Page Renouf last April touched on another question of comparative mythology — the Great Hare. The Algonkins repeated his story round the winter fire. He was the impersonation of light, a hero of the dawn. Why should the sun be thus personified? Osiris unnefer was a Sun God in Egypt. In the temple of Dendera is a hare-headed deity, its arms and hands in posture for holding the crook and flail characteristic of Osiris. Unnefer indeed is "glorious hare." The radical idea of *un* is up, rise, spring up, start up, whence *unnu* hare is a leaper. *Tmu*, "the closer," is the name given to the setting sun. *Unnu* is the title of the rising sun, who springs forth in triumph. These views were illustrated and corroborated by a variety of Egyptian texts.

— The archæological event of the year has been, however, the unwrapping of the royal mummies, by Professor Maspero, at Boulak. This was done in June, before his Highness the Khedive, with a state not unworthy of Rameses the Great and Seti I. In the "Academy" of July 3 will be found the official report, in French, and the English translation in the "Sunday-School Times" of August 14, 1886. The goddess Nut, in red and white, was drawn on one of the many encompassing bandages. The head was long, the skull bare. A few hairs, once white, had taken on a yellow tint from the embalming spices. The forehead was low, the eyes small, but the chest broad and shoulders square. The nose was hooked, like those of the Bourbons, and the jawbone massive, bespeaking inflexible decision. Through the grotesque disguise of mummification there breathed an air of sovereign majesty and overwhelming pride. Three photographs in the "Revue Archéologique" of July-August, show the imperious profile and tremendous front of this exhumed Pharaoh of the Oppression. Seti I. is sculptured at Thebes and Abydos, with a delicate, sweet-smiling profile familiar to travelers. It was no flattery. After a lapse of thirty-two centuries the mummy retains the same expression which marked the features of the living man. His resemblance to his son is astonishing.

— Miss Amelia B. Edwards, who has just been honored with the degree of LL. D. by Smith College, Northampton, and of Ph. D. by the College of the Sisters of Bethany, Topeka, Kansas, hazards a conjecture respecting another mummy of the same royal group. His face bore the marks of agony, due apparently to suicide. Was he the traitor prince whose conspiracy was foiled in the reign of Rameses III., mentioned in the "Papyrus Judiciare de Turin?" The idea is not improbable. In that case the death would be analogous to the Japanese hari-kari.

— The London "Times" of June 18 has a vivid account of the discovery of Tahpanhes, by Mr. Flinders Petrie, of the Egypt Exploration Fund. The finder himself describes in the "Academy" of June 26 his work at Tel Defenneh. A burned and blackened ruin towers high on the site, which is in the northeastern corner of Egypt. Here was the LXX Taphne, the Daphne of the Greeks. The earliest Greek site in the Delta, it is yet free from late remains, because, according to Herodotus, Amasis ruined it early in his reign by draining it of Greek mercenaries and settlers. He left, however, the Palace-Fort of Psammeticus. The metal, stone, and porcelain foundation-plaques bear the name Psamlik I. Around the massive square building was a huge walled camp, about three furlongs from north to south, by two from east to west. Not only style of construction and catalogue of garrison attest its military character. There also countless arrow-heads of iron and bronze and iron swords were found.

The fort was a royal villa, too, whose stonework was rich and vases fine. Apparently it is one with Pharaoh's house in Tahpanhes, mentioned by the prophet Jeremiah, in his forty-third chapter. Here the princesses of Zedekiah's ill-starred family were dragged after the murder of the Chaldean governor by the Jewish remnant. Here, too, the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah against Egypt's king and land. The "brick-kiln" in which Jeremiah was to hide — great stones at the entry of Pharaoh's house — was, properly, a *pavement*, as the Revised Version has it. Precisely such a large, paved platform still exists outside the palace, though long since denuded by heavy rains of the symbolic attestations of the seer's prediction. The settlement beyond the camp was a seat of jewelers. Dozens of gold ornaments have been picked up, with hundreds of bronze weights only fit for weighing precious metals. The material for the study of the history of pottery has been augmented by the discovery of bushels of the finest Greek vases, painted and dated, of a style and color yet unknown.

— H. G. Tomkins, so pleasantly known by his "Times of Abraham," suggests for Takhpankhes the Egyptian Ta-kha-p-ankh-s = the brightness or light of the Pharaoh. This he would identify with the queen whose daughter Solomon espoused. She was the wife of Hor Psebkhamenu. Her name is given in 1 Kings xi. 19, 20. In Hebrew it is תרחפנס; in Greek, Θερεψίνας.

— The annual exhibition of antiquities from sites in the Delta is reported in the "Academy" of September 4. For the Egyptian, classic, and Biblical archæology it is alike fascinating. The foundation deposits open a new chapter. They were of gold, silver, and jasper, with royal titles, corn-rubbers, and libation vases, model bricks, and sacrificial bones. To superb Greek vases were joined no less superb golden ornaments. The massive gold handle of a tray from the royal plate of Hophra (Apries) recalls the golden footpan of Amasis, celebrated in the story of Herodotus. The shrine of the god Ptah must have been a resplendent sight. It was inlaid with exquisite glass mosaics, and surmounted by a bronze shrine, with a massive bronze statuette. In front and in the rear were bronze statuettes of kneeling kings, the whole carried on poles. Truly, Mr. Petrie has unearthed wonders from Pharaoh's house at Tahpanhes.

— Sir J. William Dawson, of Canada, and Professor Edward Hull, F. R. S., are geologists of ability and note. Their independent examination of the question of the connection of the Red Sea and the Bitter Lakes, in the days of the Exodus, has resulted in substantial agreement. Both think the waters now ending at Suez then stretched to the Lakes. The depression of the land to-day would not need to be great, — the highest point to be flooded not exceeding sixty feet. Two hundred feet would seem, on scientific grounds, to be the elevation of the sea in ancient historic times above its present bed. Professor Dawson politely explains to M. Mauriac, President Bartlett, and Dr. H. Clay Trumbull, the difference between the phenomena of elevation and erosion, which has misled them into the opposite view. The tertiary rock of Chalof, as well as any other, could have participated in the slight and probably gradual elevation of the head of the Red Sea in historic times.

— M. Gaston Maspero's last report closes five years of brilliant Egyptological work, and hands over to his accomplished pupil, M. Grebaut, his high position as Director General of the Antiquities of Egypt. The ex-

actions of the climate and the exposures of the river have so far affected Madame Maspero's health as to necessitate this step. The exhumation of Luxor and the uncovering of the Sphinx are two of the great enterprises which are left well under way. Not the least of the services of Mariette's successor has been his unvarying and enthusiastic encouragement of researches in Egypt not his own. The Egypt Exploration Fund of England owes him an incalculable debt for the facilities thrown in the way of its work by this generous son of France.

—The Rev. W. C. Winslow, who is enriching the Art Museum of Boston with so many of the spoils of the Nile, has now secured a statue of Rameses II. With the rising of the river it will start for America. Already, at a meeting of the Egypt Exploration Fund, Miss Edwards has paid his energy and devotion no common compliment. According to her, he has been the means of cementing a great and noble friendship between the élite of transatlantic and British scholars. With the single exception of the late Sir Erasmus Wilson, he has done more than any one, not merely for the work of this society, but for the cause of Biblical research and the spread of Biblical knowledge in connection with Egyptology throughout the civilized world.

—M. Ernest Naville has completed his formidable task of editing the Book of the Dead. It was assigned him by Lepsius at the Oriental Congress in London, 1874. It involved the examination and collation of some eighty papyri in the libraries and museums of London, Dublin, Leyden, Paris, Berlin, Milan, Bologna, Parma, Naples, Turin, Rome, Florence, and Egypt. The Prussian government assumed the expense, and decorated the author of this colossal undertaking. May it be followed by a translation equal for our day to that which graced the first volume of Bunsen's "Egypt's Place in History," fifty years ago.

—That translation was from the hand of Dr. Samuel Birch, whose death, December 27, 1885, all lovers of learning have had occasion to lament. He was born in London, November 3, 1813, the grandson of the Lord Mayor. In early manhood he became absorbed in the Chinese language and received an appointment in the British Museum to catalogue Chinese coins. This was the beginning of his long and able headship of the Egyptian and Oriental Antiquities. In 1870 Birch was founder and president of the Society of Biblical Archæology. He also presided over the International Congress of Orientalists in 1874. In Egyptology he stood in the front rank. "He found it a puzzle, he left it a philology," is scarcely too high praise. With him passed away a rare quickness of vision and patience of investigation coupled with a kindness of heart and a fearlessness of temper not always seen in successful scholars.

—The great discoveries on the Acropolis, of last February, are not likely soon to be forgotten. Whether the series of draped statues then brought to light were Minervas or priestesses of Minerva is still in doubt. Their date is unmistakably before the Persian age. The art seems separate but by a step from that of Phidias. Antiquaries have marked with satisfaction the archaic corkscrew curls and the so-called *Æginetan* smile. The eyes are inserted. They are a kind of crystal of a grayish-green tint—the glaucon of Athene's orbs. Heaped up, one upon another, the arms and legs broken, but the faces well-nigh perfect, they suggest the theory that the Greeks buried them, when rebuilding their temples, to save them from further dismemberment by the sacrilegious countrymen of

Xerxes. The January number of the "American Journal of Archaeology," the London "Times" of February 25 and March 12, and the "Revue Archéologique" of July-August, 1886, give full notices of these astonishing marbles.

—The question of the antiquity of the Palace of Tiryns was discussed with much vigor in the July meeting of the Hellenic Society. Mr. Stillman was represented by a paper favoring a Byzantine date, on the ground of the unprehistoric tools employed and the flimsy workmanship displayed. Mr. Penrose objected to the Pelasgic period also, because burnt red bricks were not infrequently found, and the pre-Homeric character of the treasures was still not proven. Dr. Schliemann, replying to these arguments in detail, emphasized the archaic design of the wall-paintings with patterns two thousand years before the Byzantine Empire, and expressed the hope that scientific experts might test for themselves, on the spot, the accuracy of his statements and plans. A paper by Dr. Dörpfeld maintained that walls of the heroic age were of quarry stones, banded by clay mortar and sun-dried bricks as well as rectangular stone, and only such were found at Tiryns. The supposed kiln-burnt bricks were due to a conflagration which had destroyed the palace and in part calcined its walls. Walls containing other material would be found to belong to the foundations either of a Byzantine church or Byzantine tombs, as indicated in the plan. The instruments employed in the door-sills at Tiryns were the stone saw, the pickaxe, and the cylindrical bore, the very ones whose use was characteristic of the Lion-gate at Mycenæ. The angles of the outer wall of the Acropolis corresponded with those of the palace. The alabaster frieze, inlaid with small pieces of Egyptian glass (κύανος) found in the vestibule, resembled closely the reliefs of the Treasury at Orchomenus. Professor Middleton favored Dr. Schliemann's theory. He explained the smallness of the stones of the palace-wall by considerations of convenience, and recalled the fact that the Tirynthian tools were used in Egypt at a very early period. The drills and saw had clearly been used with some hard stone, like sapphire or emery, for the rapidity of cuts and spirals would have been impossible with metal tools. Even burnt brick was in use elsewhere at a date far earlier than that claimed for Tiryns. Another proof of great antiquity was the use of wooden columns, as was also the extreme care of construction. If built of rubble, the palace was of rubble smoothed, stuccoed, wainscoted in some rooms, and in others apparently plated with metal plates. This style of ornamentation was mentioned by Homer and known in the Treasury of Atreus.

—Friends of the American School at Athens will be gratified to know that the necessary funds for the building have been collected largely in Boston, and plans secured. The last are due to Professor Ware, of Columbia College. We are assured that the structure is to equal the English School in features of convenience and hygiene, and to surpass it in size. Professor Goodwin, of Harvard, and his University have laid Hellenic studies, in America, under no small obligation by this speedy crystallization of wise educational ideas.

—It is pleasant to learn that Mr. Haynes, of the Wolfe Expedition to Babylonia, is now stationed at Aintab near a famous centre for Hittite inscriptions and sculptures. Under the auspices of the New York branch of the American Archæological Institute he has already begun to explore the plain from Antioch to Marash. With the Hittite remains he will

photograph the early Christian churches in the path of Paul in Pisidia. This virgin mine is certain to yield rich treasures for philology, history, and art.

— Captain Conder speaks a good word for Phœnician antiquities in some recent notes. Possibly they are of bearing on the Hittite inscriptions, since three Sidonian colonies were near the northernmost district of the new hieroglyphics. Hebrew archæology is reinforced by their study. "Solomon's throne and brazen laver have their counterpart in Phœnicia," and "the mason's marks on the wall of the Jerusalem Temple have a close resemblance to those of Phœnician walls in Sicily." Tyrian colonists used concrete in their moles and cisterns. Their temples were hypæthral, with the cone for statue. A peculiar un-Palestinian feature of Phœnician tombs is shafts in the roofs. Captain Conder would compare them to the air shaft in the Great Pyramid. They were meant to give ingress and egress to the double or spirit ghost, haunting the statue of the dead. Late Egyptian and Phœnician tombs show this statue as a pottery doll.

— Early last spring the barracks of the Horse-Guards of the Roman Emperors were laid bare in part near the Scala Santa in Rome. In less than a week over forty marble pedestals inscribed with almost one hundred pages of records came to light. The authors were the Equites Singulares. The inscriptions were defrayed by individuals or groups varying from six to forty in number. The cause of their jubilant gratitude was in every case the same—an honorable discharge from the army after twenty-five years' service. They date from 103 to 241 A. D. These barracks are the old not the new, the *Castra Vetera* not the *Castra Nova Severiana* of the documents. In them were camped squadrons named now from the captain, now from the place of levying, or the emperor enrolling. The officers expressly mentioned are the physician, the standard-bearer, the archive-keeper, the trumpeters, the paymaster, the sacristan of the private chapel, the riding-masters, the captains, and lastly, the colonel. Inscriptions raised by an individual are to a single god. Inscriptions by a group embrace nearly twenty deities. The most popular were the Genius of the Guards, the three Capitoline deities, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; and Epona, the goddess of stables and stablemen! Next come Mars, Victory, Hercules, Fortune, Mercury, Felicitas, Salus, and Apollo. Lastly were obscure deities, the worship of which was imported from their homes by the soldiers from the deltas of the Danube and the Rhine. This "magnificent find" is described much more fully in the "*Athenæum*" for March 13, 1886, by the eminent Rodolfo Lanciani, Professor of Archæology at the University of Rome, who is expected to lecture at the Lowell Institute, Boston, and at Johns Hopkins University, the coming season.

— The second wall of Jerusalem, whose discovery Dr. Selah Merrill announced in the January statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund, seems likely to be recovered. His neat plan will be readily recalled by our readers. East of the open field opposite Frutiger's Bank a massive wall was exposed. Two layers, and in places three layers, of stone were found *in situ*. They were similar in size and in workmanship to the largest blocks in the Tower of David. Professor Hayter Lewis states further that this wall is very ancient and ten feet thick. It is dressed in the Jewish or Phœnician style, like the stones found by Warren on the lower courses of the Temple wall. Outside the wall is a rock scarp



which has been followed to the depth of fifteen feet. The wall was laid open for 120 feet. Herr Schick's opinion of its course locates the Holy Sepulchre *without*, Dr. Merrill's *within*, the wall. Subsequent excavations will be of intense interest as they shall be carried on step by step.

— The Palestine Exploration Fund attained its majority June 22, 1886. It was celebrated by a meeting under the chairmanship of its first president, the Archbishop of York, and by a memoir containing a recapitulation of the Society's work for twenty-one years. The contents of this memoir are: (1) A *résumé* of the Society's work at home; (2) An account of the excavations; (3) The exploration of the Desert of the Exodus; (4) The great survey; (5) The archæological mission of M. Clermont-Ganneau; (6) The interrupted survey of E. Palestine; (7) The geological survey; (8) Various small expeditions; (9) Obituary notices of former members; (10) A clear statement of the future work open to the Society. The last are briefly the recovery of the Second Wall of Jerusalem, the carrying out of the inquiry into the manners and customs of the people now residing in and about the Bible Land, and the publication of the materials now in the hands of the Committee. All lovers of the Land and the Book will wish the Society God-speed in their important task.

— The German Palestine Society has earned the gratitude of the public by the "Geological Trip" of Dr. Noetling, Privatdocent in Königsberg University. This scholar was associated with G. Schumacher in his incomparable survey of the east of Jordan. Dr. Noetling's accurate geological map of the Dscholan is soon to appear in the "Zeitschrift" of the Society. Already he has published a succinct yet lively diary of his summer tour from May 11 to September 2, 1885. His rejoinder to Dr. Diener, of Vienna, who maintained the prolongation of the period of volcanic eruptions to quite a recent epoch on the ground of the overlaying of certain strata in the Dscholan by lava streams, vindicates his own claim conclusively to the authorship of this observation. The lava streams, Dr. Noetling saw must be comparatively modern, for they flowed over rubble deposits which were not later than diluvial. Accordingly he wrote to the Royal Academy of Sciences in Berlin a paper read 30th July, 1885. In this he refers to the mighty lava streams from the craters of N. Dscholan capping the chalk, and of a lava stream resting on the rubble beds of the ancient Jarmuk. These beds yielded the same fauna as those living in the river to-day. His inference is, the Dscholan lavas "frühesten post senones Alter besitzen, die Eruptionen aber bis in jungtertiäre, wenn nicht gar bis in die diluviale Zeit hinein fortgedauert haben." Tertiary, diluvial, or even old-alluvial age must be ascribed to the entire volcanic region of Batanea — so far as concerns its eruptions and lava torrents.

John Phelps Taylor.

## BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

**TYPES OF ETHICAL THEORY.** By JAMES MARTINEAU, D. D., LL. D., late Principal of Manchester New College, London. Second edition, revised. Two volumes. Oxford: Clarendon Press. New York: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

It hardly seems "the gratuitous folly of prophecy" to class this book among what are recognized as the standard ethical treatises of our language, or to congratulate one's self on the privileges of reading a classic in the day of its appearance.

There is in the book a wealth of substance and an excellence of quality which may lay claim to the words "great" and "enduring." All this, indeed, might be said by one who found much occasion for dissent and criticism. The greatness of the book is the greatness of the author. It is not the result of special mental effort, but the growth of a lifetime, and the expression of a personality.

Dr. Martineau has long had friends and admirers on both sides of the Atlantic, among all lovers of a pure and noble English style and seekers after ennobling thought, having become known to them through his sermons and his polished and powerfully-written essays on philosophical subjects. These were, however, but sparks from his anvil. The real fabric which he has been laboring to construct has been all the time hidden from the world. He has spent his life, to use his own phrase, "discoursing to two or three boys in a corner." As far back as 1841, Mill entreated him to publish his lectures, lest before they appeared he (Mill) should be "studying such subjects in another state of existence." This fear has been justified. Only now, as "by reason of strength," happily showing no signs of waning, Dr. Martineau passes the mortal's utmost bound of "fourscore" years, does he give to the world a part of the fruits of his life's labor,—the exposition of his theory of ethics. The complement and sequel of this, in a treatise on the "Theory of Religion," he promises in the event, devoutly to be prayed for, that "the evening twilight of life should linger a little longer with me, and leave my powers of industry unspent."

This persistent reserve until almost the end is an inestimable gain to the book. It thus becomes the continuous and completed utterance, both in its style and expression, of a soul and a life,—of a soul gifted with genius, saturated with learning, aglow with affection for human nature, dignified by a profound and ardent faith, Christian to the very roots of its being; of a life in which action, sentiment, and expression are in fine harmony with profound mental convictions, and which throughout the marvelously extended term of its activity, amid a great diversity of accomplishments and interests, has all the time been devoted with unflagging industry to the one study which makes the theme of this book,—the mental and moral nature of man.

The plan of the book is in keeping with its origin. With instinctive propriety, the development of the author's purpose begins, in the preface, with autobiographical details, which describe the progress of his thought, from mechanical, determinist, and utilitarian conceptions, to a theistic and moral view of the universe. This progress was accompanied and promoted by a change in his studies from physics to metaphysics, by the

tests to which his theories were subjected in the class-room, and especially by a historical study of philosophy, beginning in its classic origins. All this is most interesting, not only because it agreeably accounts for the catholicity of knowledge and sympathy in the author, which grows more apparent with every page we read, but even more because we have thus already foreshadowed by the author the plan of his procedure, the method of progress, and the mental discipline by which he will conduct his readers from the place where he fears he may find them to the goal whither he would fain lead them.

He first surveys from afar the whole field of ethical development, and with the aid of certain strong lines of division maps it out in different groups of theories. The principal division, which also separates the volumes, is between the "psychological" and "unpsychological" theories of ethics. To the former the first volume is devoted. It seems to consist of a series of expositions of the moral philosophies of Plato, Descartes, Malebranche, Spinoza, and Comte. These studies are original, scholarly, subtle, sympathetic, fascinatingly interesting, and enlightening, and seem almost to attain their end apart from their place in the scheme of the book.

But we discover as we proceed to the second volume that the purpose of the author is not historical exposition, but the "positive construction of doctrine." We are approaching the very focus of interest and importance in the whole discussion. The "unpsychological theories" which "descend upon the soul from the outer universe," and seek the origin of moral distinctions in the world without, have been in the first volume weighed and found wanting. A similar treatment awaits those theories allowed to be psychological, but which err in "slurring the boundaries between our faculties," and in "seeking to evolve the moral from the unmoral phenomena of our nature." These are by distinction named "heteropsychological," and their consideration is deferred until the end, when we "shall have a true measure of aberration by which to try their claims," in the true theory which stands between these two extremes of error, and is idiopsychological, because it studies moral distinctions, not only in the light of mental, but of distinctively moral phenomena in the soul. Thus "the effect is to place the positive doctrine at the centre, midway between two wings of critical analysis."

This arrangement defies all abstract canons of unity and progress. The author foresees that the critic will complain "this is neither a history nor a system, but a little of both;" but he replies that this objection "hits a fault, not of the book, but of the author. The mixture of exposition and search in these volumes is the involuntary expression of personal experience. I have always been a teacher; I have not ceased to be a learner; . . . I cannot rest contentedly in the past; I cannot take a step toward the future without its support." The reader gratefully acknowledges the completeness of this justification. If the method is congenial to the author, it is therefore fascinating and interesting to the reader. It is also for every mind a natural method of approach to the truth. The postulates which are assumed in the positive exposition have already become familiar; they have been tested in a hundred different lights and trials, and gained the reality and reliability of permanent and established features in the mental landscape. And though it seems a pity, after the crest of interest is passed, to descend in closing to some expositions which more nearly approach the commonplace than any other

part of the book, yet even these, with the admirable criticisms of evolutionary hedonism, afford a compensating advantage. They enable us after the craft has been built and launched to subject it to a series of most trying experimental tests.

The climax of interest, value, and power is reached in the positive exposition of the author's theory of morals. This is a vindication in the face of prevalent tendencies toward a hedonistic, evolutionary, or utilitarian explanation of moral phenomena, of the elementary, original, and authoritative character of our moral faculties. This exposition has borne, as it invited, the combined attack of hostile forces. It is not invulnerable. In its most inspiring and powerful argument, that for the existence of a personal God as the source of our sense of moral authority, it seems to endanger the cause it advocates by a too rigidly transcendental and anthropological conception of God. It does not explicitly enough do justice to the place we give to consequences in our estimate of moral actions. It casts an air of unreality over the whole structure of its reasoning by entering into a minute, intricate, abstract, and almost fanciful comparison of the different springs of action.

But when all this and more has been conceded, there remain a wealth of subtle psychological observations, a fine ethical discrimination, an ennobling tone of morality, and even of reverent piety. These it would be impossible for the advocate of any school of morals to deny or belittle. But, beside and above all this, the book constitutes a powerful, imposing, and eloquent argument for the authority of conscience, for the inwardness of morality, for a personal God, — in a word, for the whole philosophy which is implied in Christianity.

Charles L. Noyes.

SOMERVILLE.

THREE AMERICANS AND THREE ENGLISHMEN. Lectures read before the Students of Trinity College, Hartford. By CHARLES F. JOHNSON, A. M., Professor of English Literature, Trinity College. 16mo, pp. vii., 245. New York: Thomas Whittaker. 1886. \$1.25.

THE three Englishmen are Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Shelley; the three Americans Hawthorne, Emerson, and Longfellow. Coleridge, as might be expected in a writer of the school of Mulford, is peculiarly well apprehended. The author brings out the complete mutual independence of his prose and his poetry; the former entirely addressed, in the true form of prose, to the intelligence; the latter purely to the imagination. The author does well in making the poetry to consist solely of "The Ancient Mariner," "Christabel," "Kubla Khan," and "Cain." The value of these poems, to which, as he says, ordinary supernaturalism seems human, he thus expresses: —

"When thought is held entirely within the limitations of the natural and positive, imagination takes a terrible revenge. A peculiar and distressing form of insanity awaits the posterity of the men and women to whom the things of this world are the only subject of thought. Fungi grow in the dark, unconscious recesses of minds never illumined by the weird light of the underlying world."

The author distinguishes well between the feebleness of Coleridge as a personality — compare him with Milton! — and the immense fructifications of his thought. The full harvests of this are only beginning to

be gathered in; all that has been realized already is but a first fruits. The author notes as it deserves Carlyle's unwillingness to see merit in Coleridge. Had Coleridge even been willing to evaporate The Eternal One into The Eternities, still Carlyle would have thought there was not praise enough for both.

Shelley seems to intoxicate his biographers, as he did his companions. As to the value of his poetry, the author does not leave us very clear, beyond our previous consciousness of its supernally musical etherealness; but the youth himself appears as something so ineffably precious that adultery, seduction, intended polygamy, the provocation of his wife to her suicide, in him, seem to be set forth as the holy aberrations of a soul too pure to feel the need of purity, too righteous to be aware of the value of righteousness. His actions are those of a ten times malignant Puck, but the perpetrator himself, it appears, is only a seraph astray. It is fortunate, then, that seraphs are for the most part detained in their own higher sphere. Yet who can deny the deep, tempered benevolence that pervades the "Revolt of Islam"? It flies to a sort of atheism in the hope of withering the malignancies of the religions, and by this withdrawal of a Father's presence throws over its convocation of transfigured souls a bright and deadly chill. He commits himself for guidance to the impulses of refined desire, and thereby admits the light, but plainly discernible, smutch of animal impurity into the "Witch of Atlas," and the darkling paradise of "Prometheus Unbound." Yet who has a more superlative measure of "the hate of hate, the scorn of scorn, the love of love?" Poor boy! the missing wisdom has been supplied to him ere now, in a wider and more luminous world. He was driven mad by England, like Charlie in "Wilfrid Cumbermede."

The author does not do justice to Hawthorne. Even Richard Hutton hardly does him justice. Professor Johnson, especially, hardly seems sufficiently conscious of the deep and pure moral sanity with which he treads all the dark labyrinths of singular evil. And how he can say of *anything* of Hawthorne's that it leaves us in a deep discouragement is beyond us to understand. Hawthorne, throughout, diffuses a consciousness of the possibility of redemption, where the eye of the soul has not been put out by its own obduracy. This consciousness cannot well be called a *loving* one, but it is steady and serene. The ethical value of Hawthorne's writings — his lesser ones especially — is best summed up in a sentence of the late Professor Morgan, of Oberlin, that "they are pervaded by a fine vein of Christian philosophy."

This little book contains so many felicities that this notice might have been more profitably made up purely of them. But reviews are not written by unfallen Adam. The best thing, under Hawthorne, is the simple remark that "Mr. Lowell's forthcoming book will not be superfluous, because nothing from Mr. Lowell can be." The next best thing is that Hawthorne gives the man purged of his accidents, and Mr. James the accidents purged of their man. The author's Episcopalianism, which certainly is not obtrusive, comes out very funnily in an intimation that a few years hence Puritanism will only be known as a fly preserved in Hawthorne's amber. Mitre of Seabury, *ora pro nobis*!

As Shelley, it seems, was an adulterer only out of despite to that Philistine England which honors marriage, so Emerson, we are given to understand, endeavored "to get rid of Christ," as he expressed it, only by way

of destroying Calvinism. The style of reasoning is a little too much after the manner of Paul Clifford. We cannot see why a man may not write all manner of profound things, good and evil, and yet be a pagan, not by revulsion, but by true moral gravitation. Yet "whoso shall speak a word against the Son of Man it shall be forgiven him." And, from his noble address on the Pilgrim Fathers on, he seems to have been undergoing a process of slow Christianization, not by mental decay, as the foolish ones will have it, but by true assimilation. Professor Johnson seems as much puzzled as to what Matthew Arnold's lecture on Emerson is all about as some of the rest of us. His few references to Arnold give the impression that he agrees with the late E. P. Whipple in regarding him as embodying despondency and skepticism in literature, and superciliousness in criticism. Even so great a man as the eldest son of the great Headmaster of Rugby appears doomed to carry through life the ineffaceable imprint of an all-too-clever dux.

Of the paper on Longfellow, it is praise enough to say that it is well worth reading, even after the paper of Mr. Howells in the "North American." And his appreciation of "Hiawatha," and of the self-transferring power it evinces, is strikingly original, and no less sound. Both he and Howells show well enough that those who esteem Longfellow commonplace are in danger to be thought commonplace themselves. And Professor Johnson's vindication of his true American flavor, as well as his definition of the general nature of this subtle touch, where culture and topic are almost the same as in England, ought to be laid to heart by foolish English people who fancy that nothing is American but a six-shooter.

Charles C. Starbuck.

DIE INSCRIFT DES KOENIGS MESA VON MOAB ; für akademische Vorlesungen herausgegeben von RUDOLF SMEND und ALBERT SOCIN. Freiburg i. B.: Akademische Verlagsbuchhandlung von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1886. (Facsimile, with 35 pp. Text.)

THE "Moabite Stone," with its inscription recording the wars and public works of Mesha, King of Moab, the contemporary of Ahab (2 K. iii. 4 ff.), was discovered near Dhibân (the Biblical Dibon) in 1868 by a German missionary in Jerusalem, Mr. F. A. Klein.

It was then intact, but the eagerness of the Franks to get possession of it excited the cupidity and the suspicions of the Arabs who claimed ownership in it, and the attempted interference of the Turkish authorities exasperated them to such a degree that they broke the *stèle* to pieces and distributed the fragments among the tribesmen. A number of these fragments — in all perhaps somewhat less than two thirds of the whole stone — were subsequently recovered, and are, with insignificant exceptions, in the Louvre. A hasty and rather imperfect squeeze of the inscription, obtained before the mutilation of the monument, is in the same museum. By its aid M. Clermont-Ganneau has with great skill arranged the fragments of the stone and produced a restoration of the monument which the present editors characterize as in the main very successful.

The squeeze also has been carefully mounted between two glass plates in a revolving frame, so that both sides can be examined in every light. The inscription has thus, since 1876, been accessible to every visitor of the Louvre, but, strange to say, until the present very little use has been made of the opportunity thus afforded for a new and thorough study of



the monument.<sup>1</sup> Scholars have therefore been dependent upon the early and necessarily imperfect decipherment of M. Clermont-Ganneau,<sup>2</sup> which he has himself from time to time corrected and improved, especially in an article in "*Revue Critique*," 1875, ii. 166 ff.

The numerous *lacunae* in the first copies left wide room for conjecture, and many skillful and unskillful attempts at the reconstruction and interpretation of the inscriptions were made. Of those in English it is sufficient to mention, beside Dr. W. H. Ward's article in the "*Bibliotheca Sacra*" for October, 1870, Dr. Ginsburg's "*Moabite Stone*," second edition, London, 1870, and Dr. William Wright's excellent article in the "*North British Review*" for October, 1870. Of late little has been published on the subject.

There was, in fact, nothing more to be done without more material, and for that scholars had, with a sort of hopelessness, resigned themselves to wait for the publication of the text in the great "*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*." All students of the Old Testament, as well as those particularly interested in Semitic epigraphy, will therefore welcome the present publication, which contains the results of a careful and prolonged examination of the monument itself and the squeeze in the Louvre, as well as of another squeeze of the larger fragments which is in Basel. The lithographic plate, on a scale of one to four, was prepared with the greatest care under Smend's supervision, photographs and a plaster cast, made under the direction of the authorities of the museum, being employed to secure accuracy in the reproduction. A slight tint distinguishes on the plate those parts of the inscription which are preserved on stone from those in which we are dependent on the squeeze alone. Letters which cannot be certainly made out, or are supplied by conjecture, are stippled. The painstaking and unselfish work of the lithographer (G. Wolf in Basel) is deserving of high praise.

The accompanying text, after describing the present state of the monument, — Ganneau's restoration, — which was tested by numerous accurate measurements, contains a transcription in Hebrew square characters, with a translation which is followed by brief notes, explaining line by line the results of their inspection, especially those readings which are new or in which they differ from their predecessors. A lexical index to the words contained in the inscription completes the pamphlet.

The results, in the confirmation or correction of Ganneau's readings, exceeded the authors' own expectations. Over eighty new letters were made out with more or less certainty, and the connection, as far as the end of line 27, is now almost unbroken. In the few cases in which it is still necessary to resort to conjecture, the context generally makes the suppletion unmistakably evident. Of new, or more fully established readings of special interest, we may note the following: line 1, the name of Mesha's father, כמשמלך, not כמשנרב or כמשנר; line 3, end, כמשע, משה for the deliverance of Mesha; line 4, מלכן, not שלכן, confirming a conjecture early made by Nöldeke and others; line 6, end, in my days he spoke כדבר; line 16, the long gap is now filled up thus, אלף מנברן; line 17 f. ומבנן ובברת ובבר; line 25 f. באסרן ישראל; not כלי; line 25 f. באסרן ישראל.

<sup>1</sup> An *Edition définitive*, by Clermont-Ganneau, was announced by Leroux in 1878 as in press, but has never appeared.

<sup>2</sup> Hand *fac-simile* in *Revue Archéologique*, 1870, pl. VIII., — repeated with slight modifications in his *La Stèle de Dhiban*, Paris, 1870, reproduced in Nöldeke's well-known work.

line 30 f. the reference to Mesha's flocks בָּקָר, צֹאן; line 31, the Dedanites settled in Horonaim.

The discovery of the missing נָ, lines 10, 11; the reading דִּיעֶרֶךְ, line 21, with which the last plural in *m* disappears; רִיאָהָ for רִיאָהָ, line 5, which disposes of the assumed V form of the verb, are of grammatical interest, as is also the peculiar use of בָּן in line 16.

G. F. Moore.

**AN ASSYRIAN MANUAL.** For the use of beginners in the study of the Assyrian language. By D. G. LYON, Professor in Harvard University. 8vo, pp. xlv., 138. Chicago: The American Publication Society of Hebrew. 1886.

THIRTY years since the Royal Asiatic Society demonstrated, through a fourfold identical rendering of the Tiglath-Pileser Inscription by four independent scholars, that Assyrian was no freak of the imagination. It was a language of history. To-day the finest Old Testament scholarship deems Assyrian annals of inestimable worth for the illumination of Israel's religion.

Professor Lyon is one of the few Americans who have devoted themselves to this rich and rewarding field of study. To the insight of a southern, he has added the perseverance of a northern scholar. His former work, "The Sargon Text," was published in German and showed the range of his learning. The present volume in English exhibits its edge. Not a few will welcome this admirable manual, which has long been sought in vain from a cuneiform expert.

The book is the better for being the fruit of experience. The author has wrought it out by teaching. Professor Lyon says rightly in his preface that the two great obstacles to the acquisition of Assyrian are the lack of suitable books for beginners, and the large demand made on the learner's memory by the cuneiform signs. Both are needless. His work aims to obviate both. The principle asserted is that the Assyrian tongue, in common with others, lies in its sounds rather than in its signs. The method is to use transliterated texts which shall impart to the novice a small vocabulary and a certain appreciation of the grammatical structure, simultaneously with the gradual mastery of the more common cuneiform characters. Thus speed and zest have been ensured. One of the hardest Semitic languages has become one of the easiest.

For his purpose, we do not see how Professor Lyon could improve his list of transliterated texts. They are Tiglath-Pileser I., the Standard Inscription of Assurnazirpal, Shalmaneser II., with the famous Tribute of Jehu, and selected wars and works of the great Sargon, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Assurbanipal. Outside the "classic Assyrian period," he gives us the celebrated Inscriptions of Nabonidus with his Temple Restorations in Haran and Sippar, and Cyrus with the Capture of Babylon and the Restoration of the Gods to their Temples. These 52 pages of transliterated texts may well be called the "central feature" of the Manual.

The page for beginners contains the First Egyptian Campaign of Assurbanipal, transliterated and translated. There occur cuneiform text and ample notes a little further on. At the opening of the book are 287 phonograms and 215 ideograms. At the end is a glossary covering 43 pages. In type, in sequence, in arrangement, everything seems fitted to make *I-na mah-ri-i gir-ri-ya* as familiar to the Assyrian freshman as *Arma virumque cano* to the Roman.

This stimulating compend furnishes also the cuneiform text of a Creation-Tablet, the Deluge-Legend, and the Descent of Ishtar to Hades. With its outline of Assyrian grammar it fairly woos the student into the mysteries of Ninevite speech, and unlocks for the recluse without a teacher the treasures of Babylonian thought. It is at once modest and masterly. We will not say that it is unapproached as an Introduction to Assyrian. Were its price one half of what it is, it would be unapproachable.

*John Phelps Taylor.*

**THE CULTURE OF CHILD PIETY :** The Obligations of the Churches in respect to this Culture, with Reference to the Special Responsibilities and Opportunities of Pastors for its Oversight and Conduct. By AMOS S. CHESBROUGH, D. D. Pp. 235. Boston : Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society. 1886. \$1.25.

Forty years ago Horace Bushnell published his two famous sermons on "Christian Nurture." That event marked the beginning of a new era in the "culture of child-piety" in our New England churches. The latest contribution to the literature of this interesting and important subject is the book now before us, written by Dr. Bushnell's lifelong and intimate friend. This book has a decided advantage in its authorship. It is no apprentice work. It is the mature production of a long, practical experience, in which rare tact and enthusiastic devotion have combined to fit the writer for his task. Dr. Bushnell addressed himself to Christian parents; Dr. Chesebrough writes especially for Christian pastors. The older book is on the "culture of child-piety in the home;" this book, on the "culture of child-piety in the church." The aim of the author is clearly indicated in his preface, when he says : —

"Much has been said — none too much — upon the Christian nurture of the home, upon methods of Sunday-school teaching, and upon other forms of effort in behalf of the spiritual culture of the young. But in this class of literature that which was designed to be the central force in church work has been largely overlooked, namely, the agency of the pastor. . . . *As his first care, he must look after the children ; for only to the degree that they are cared for can the church fulfill her mission.*"

With this clear explanation the book proceeds, first, to urge the importance of child-nurture as a department of church work, and, second, to indicate the principles involved in it, and to suggest plans for its prosecution.

The first half of the book is an appeal, an argued exhortation, to Christian pastors; dignified, fraternal, and tender, and yet eager and persistent. It is the appeal of a man who believes that this is absolutely the most important and hopeful work that a pastor can engage in. He believes that the coming of the kingdom of God on earth is conditioned upon it. "Child-piety is the grand and only portal through which the church is to enter upon the full possession of the promised inheritance." "That anticipated triumph is alone conditioned on her laying hold on childhood and putting it into full possession of the kingdom which our Lord declared belonged to it." "He serves the church best who serves the children best." This is the high ground taken throughout the book. The position is well defended, and, we believe, securely held. Such an exalted conception of the problem in hand certainly gives dignity to the

discussion and commends it to the attention of every working pastor. In this portion of the book the various subjects considered are: the obligations to the work, the leading principles involved in it, the results to be expected, and the excuses commonly made by those who decline it.

The most valuable and difficult service is, however, rendered as the author turns from theory to practice. Many pastors who need no exhortation to work among the children are helplessly waiting for suggestion. This they will find in the intelligent hints and definite working plans offered in the latter half of the book. The writer is wise enough not to undertake too much in this direction; he recognizes the necessity of variety and flexibility in all plans and methods; but he does not hesitate to tell us just how he himself has proceeded, he gives us the benefit of his own successful experience, and the result is such valuable and practicable suggestion as will be welcomed by all who have similar work in hand.

*James W. Cooper.*

NEW BRITAIN, CONN.

MEMOIRS AND LETTERS OF DOLLY MADISON, wife of James Madison, President of the United States. Edited by her grand-niece. 16mo, pp. 210. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1886. \$1.25.

THIS little book is a happily chosen selection of letters, with links of simple narrative between, of a lady who was socially preëminent at the capital for a much longer time than any other woman has ever been, and who left a much more positive memory of herself in Washington than any mistress of the White House before Mrs. Hayes. For Mrs. Madison was not only President's wife for eight years, but spent a part of every year for nineteen years before her death at Washington, and thus revived her social influence, which, indeed, seems to have remained a very potent memory during the twenty years intervening. The writer of this, living in his boyhood for years near Washington, and a good part of the time before Mrs. Madison's return, remembers that in the social chat of his elders he so seldom heard the name of Mrs. Monroe, or even of Mrs. John Quincy Adams, that he would not now know that there had ever been any such ladies, but from subsequent reading. The remembrance of Mrs. Madison seemed to control the whole field. She was a true queen of society, bright and sparkling, well-looking and wealthy, the wife of a man who was not only President, but also a main founder of the Republic; she was a woman universally sympathetic, supporting social brilliancy on an original basis of Quaker simplicity, and little concerned about either the heights or the depths, in a society which appears to have been little concerned about either. The very centre of her long-continuing influence seems to have been her power, without any insincerity of declaration, of making each particular lady account herself to be the special object of Mrs. Madison's regards. We remember being once much amused at meeting in Southern Indiana a very worthy but thoroughly homespun old lady, once resident in Washington, who assured us with the most evident good faith that she was one of Mrs. Madison's most particular friends. Perhaps she was, but there were doubtless several hundred more. The Empress Josephine is said to have owed her great social influence to just the same trait. In neither woman was it

insincerity, though perhaps in neither was it compatible with the deepest sincerity. In all other points the light, but pure, tender, wifely nature of the American is worlds above the corrupt frivolity of the Creole Frenchwoman, though hardly able to vie with the latter in the exhibition of her boundless kindness of heart, as it lacked imperial resources. To literature and knowledge the two appear to have been about equally indifferent.

Her character is well summed up by a lady who knew her all her life: "She had a sweet, natural dignity of manner, which attracted while it commanded respect; a proper degree of reserve without stiffness in company with strangers; and a stamp of frankness and sincerity, which, with her intimate friends, became gayety and playfulness of manner. There was, too, a cordial, genial, sunny atmosphere surrounding her which won all hearts, and was one of the secrets of her popularity. She was said to be, during Mr. Madison's administration, the most popular person in the United States, and she certainly had a remarkable memory for names and faces. No person introduced to Mrs. Madison at one of the crowded levees at the White House required a second presentation on meeting her again, but had the gratification of being recognized and addressed by name. Her son, Payne Todd, was a worthless fellow, and his behavior was the great sorrow of her life. Mr. Madison, during his lifetime, bore with him like a father, and paid many of his debts; but he was an incorrigible spendthrift, and spent his own fortune and his mother's too, embittering the last years of her life."

Mrs. Madison survived her great husband almost twenty years, dying when nearly eighty-three. During this last year "her mind seemed very busy with the past. She caused old letters to be read to her, which brought in their train memories and associations unknown to those around her, and though her mind was never clouded, nor her affections weakened, she suffered much from debility, and was confused and wearied by the conflicting counsels around her. 'Oh, for my counselor!' she was heard to say, as if the burden of life was becoming too much for the tired brain." She was very fond of having the Bible read to her, and invariably asked for the Gospel of John. A Quakeress by birth, she had lately professed her Christian faith more distinctly in baptism and confirmation, and quietly slept into peace.

Mrs. Madison was not, like one of her successors, a strong centre of elevating influences. But she was, and remains, a gracious and sunny memory, as, through her full share of heavy afflictions, she led a gracious and sunny life, which in this little book is lucidly and winningly set forth.

*Charles C. Starbuck.*

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#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

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*N. J. Bartlett & Co., Boston.* The Resultant Greek Testament. Exhibiting the Text in which the Majority of Modern Editors are agreed, and containing all the Readings of Stephens (1550), Lachmann, Tregelles, Tischendorf, Lightfoot for the Epistles of St. Paul, Ellicott for the Epistles of St. Paul, Alford, Weiss for Matthew, The Bâle Edition (1880), Westcott and Hort,

and the Revision Committee. By Richard Francis Weymouth, D. Lit., Fellow of University College, London. Pp. xix., 643. London: Elliot Stock. — The Mystery of God. A Consideration of some Intellectual Hindrances to Faith. By T. Vincent Tymms. Pp. xii., 354. 1885. London: Elliot Stock.

*Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, Boston.* Bible Children. By Rev. Mortimer Blake, D. D. Pp. 240. \$1.25; — Christmas at Surf Point. By Willis Boyd Allen. Pp. 169. \$1.00; — Miss Charity's House. By Howe Benning, author of "Quiet Corners," "Hester Lenox," etc. Pp. 353. \$1.25; — Enderby Bible Class; or, To Live is Christ. By Margaret E. Winslow, Author of "Katie Robertson," "Three Years at Glenwood," etc., etc. Pp. vii., 320. \$1.25.

*Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.* Poems of Religious Sorrow, Comfort, Counsel, and Aspiration. Selected by Francis James Child. 16mo, pp. xi., 277. 1886. \$1.25; — Ancient Cities. From the Dawn to the Daylight. By William Burnet Wright, pastor of the Berkeley Street Church, Boston. 16mo, pp. x., 291. 1886. \$1.25; — The Cruise of the Mystery, and other Poems. By Celia Thaxter. Pp. iv., 121. 1886. \$1.00; — The Round Year. By Edith M. Thomas. 16mo, pp. 296. 1886. \$1.25.

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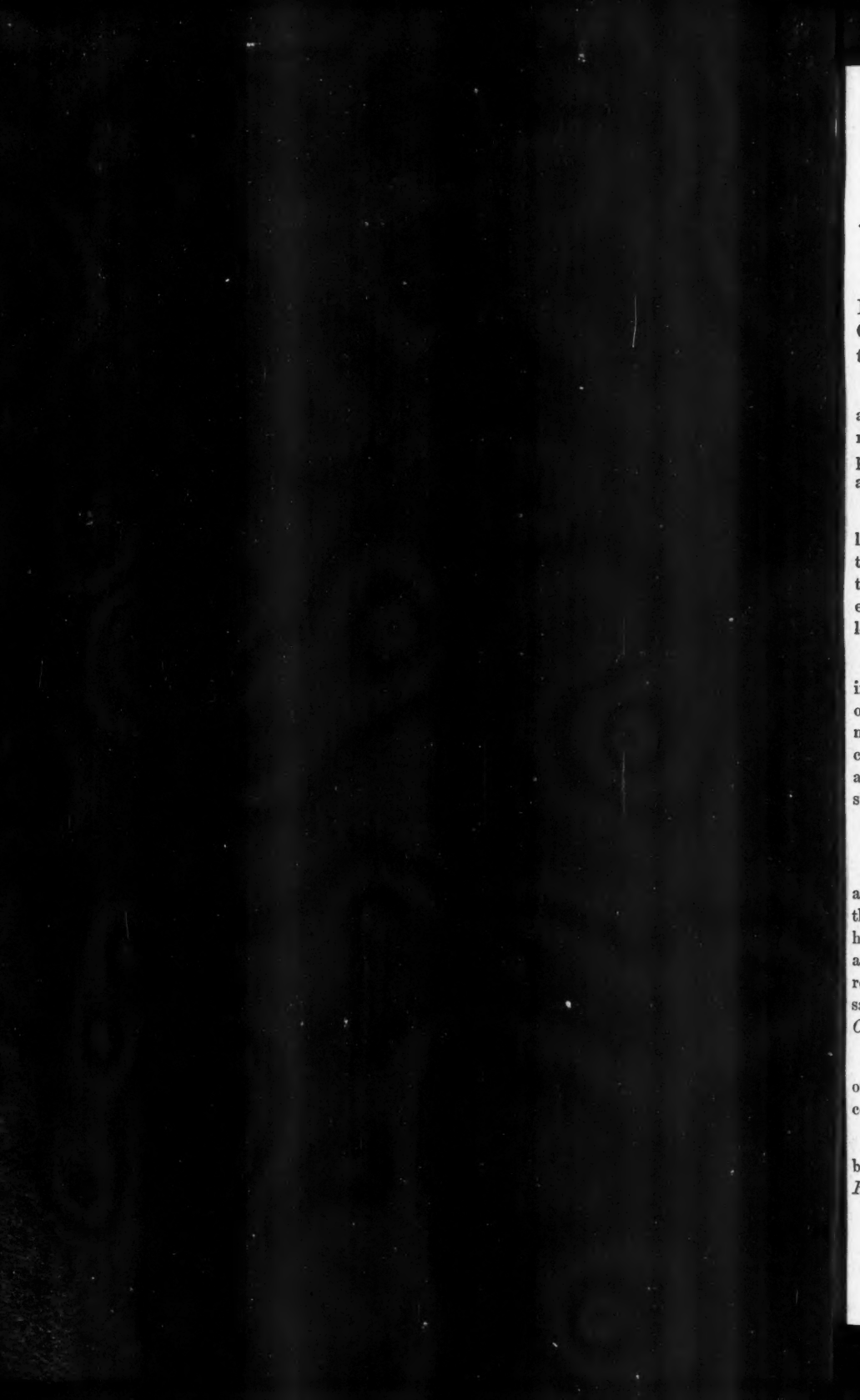
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